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THE  
**CHINESE REPOSITORY.**

VOL. III.—NOVEMBER, 1834.—No. 7.

ART. I. *Portuguese in China: Contribution to an historical sketch of the Roman Catholic church at Macao; and the domestic and foreign relations of Macao.* By A. L. KNT. Canton, China 1834. pp. 53.

This little work is a continuation of a 'Contribution to an historical sketch, principally of Macao,' published in 1832, and reviewed in former numbers of the Repository. (vol. I. pp. 398, 425.) The same commendation which was then awarded to the author and his book, is due in the present instance. We appreciate highly the labors of any man who devotes his leisure hours to collecting and recording historical facts, which illustrate the character and condition of man, and which, but for such labors, would soon be lost. And efforts of this kind are especially praiseworthy, when, as in the present instance, they are put forth by a veteran of threescore and fifteen years. But lest commendation of the industry and ability of our author should be construed into an unqualified approbation of all his sentiments, we will stop here and notice some of the points, concerning which our opinions are entirely different from those contained in the book before us. The frankness with which sir A. L. publishes to the world his own views, will induce him to excuse, if any excuse is necessary, the same freedom in ourselves.

"It is to be lamented," he says, on page 17, "that human ingenuity should have borrowed from the Bible the groundwork of more than four hundred sects: each of them faithfully believing themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not within the pale of their confraternities; an uncharitableness which a miracle alone, the greatest (if any) ever wrought, may erase from the minds of prejudiced Christians. Until this unexpect-

ed event shall have eradicated the animosity that still rages among theologo-polemic combatants, may it not be reasonable to conclude with a king of Siam, 'that the true God takes pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way.' The few lines which we have here quoted, so far as they have any force, and they are not without meaning, seem to us designed to disprove and to bring into discredit the Christian religion and the Scriptures upon which that religion is founded. Possibly we have mistaken the meaning of our author; but if we understand him, when he says 'if any (miracles) ever were wrought,' he doubts that fact; and in so doing gives the influence of his opinion to destroy all the evidence, in favor of Christianity, which is derived from miracles. If we are wrong, in the view we have taken of his language, we shall rejoice to be corrected; but if we are right, we hope that the worthy veteran may be induced, not so much in deference to our opinion, as in regard to our best wishes, to re-examine the evidence which Paley, Caupbell, and others have adduced in favor of miracles, as well as that which miracles afford of the truth and verity of the Old and New Testaments.

It is very "reasonable to conclude" that the *true God* takes pleasure in being glorified by myriads of living creatures, who praise him each in his own way, because we know that "in every nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him." But where is the evidence that "a king of Siam" ever had any knowledge of the true God? Mr. Crawford, it is true, has represented one of the kings, as speaking of the true God: but where is the evidence that Mr. Crawford, rightly understood, or has correctly reported, the words of his Siamese majesty? The present king is a worshiper of idols; and in doing this he follows in the footsteps of his fathers. What Mr. Crawford has said may be true; we hope it is, and do not doubt his integrity in the least: but how the mind of any one can receive such an assertion, under such circumstances, as *undoubted* truth, and at the same time *doubt* the testimony adduced in proof of miracles, and doubt too the truth of miracles, seems to us unaccountable. And where is the evidence to prove that human ingenuity has borrowed from the Bible the groundwork of more than four hundred sects? And where and what is the testimony to prove that each of them faithfully believe themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not within the pale of their confraternities? If this statement of our author is true, (and he advances it as an unquestionable fact,) then there is "an uncharitableness" in the world which is truly lamentable, and which must go far to prove the utter depravity of the human heart. If then human ingenuity should borrow the groundwork of ten thousand sects from the Bible, would that prove the Bible, untrue or unintelligible? Would it not rather prove the perversity of the human mind? To us, the Bible has always seemed to be a plain book, and one the most perspicuous and easy to be understood, especially those parts of it which relate to the practical duty of man. And furthermore, we frankly confess, that we never knew more

than one or two sects of religionists, that "faithfully believed themselves to be on the straight road to heaven, with the exclusion of all such as are not in the pale of their confraternities:" that there are individuals among some of the religious orders of the present day, who think themselves to be the only ones in the way to heaven, we will not deny: but it seems wrong to charge against whole denominations the errors and absurdities of individuals.

Our author concludes his sketch of the Roman catholic church at Macao with the following note and quotation:—"The striking similarity of behavior, (which assimilates to a certain degree the reforming apostles, who, by an intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies, are in the nineteenth century improperly obtruded on the world, with those of Rome, who in the seventh century, propagated in the northern parts of Germany, by any means, the principles of their doctrines,) is a sufficient apology for our transcribing from Mosheim the following: 'These voyages, undertaken in the cause of Christ, carry, no doubt, a specious appearance of piety and zeal; but the impartial and attentive inquirer after truth will find it impossible to form the same favorable judgment of them all, or to applaud, without distinction, the motives that animated these laborious missionaries. That the designs of some of them were truly pious, and their character without reproach is unquestionably certain. But it is equally certain, that this was neither the case with them all, nor even of the greatest part of them. Many of them discovered, in the course of their ministry, the most turbulent passions, and dishonored the glorious cause in which they were engaged, by their arrogance and ambition, their avarice and cruelty. They abused the power which they had received from the Roman pontiffs of forming religious establishments among the superstitious nations; and, instead of gaining souls to Christ, they usurped a despotic dominion over their obsequious proselytes; and exercised princely authority over the countries where their ministers had been successful.' &c. Mosheim's Eccl. His. Vol. II., 155. London, 1806."

By the foregoing remarks and quotation our author indirectly affirms, or at least insinuates, that the greatest part of modern missionaries are bad men, and that the missionary societies are engaged in a system of operations which is wholly beyond their proper sphere of action. These are serious charges, demanding careful consideration; and disposed as we are to avoid controversy, we would not enter on an examination of them, did not the cause of truth require us to do so. Every careful observer of men and things, who has studied the history of the world, and is watching the progress of society in every clime, must perceive that the best interests of the human race are closely connected with the destinies of Christianity: and by the wise arrangements of Divine Providence all the interests of our holy religion, especially those which regard its extension, are made to depend in no inconsiderable degree on the efforts of its professors. We care little for the merely nominal distinctions which exist among Christians; while we regard the whole church militant, which is bound together by the triple band of "faith, hope, charity," as one

community, upon which rests the solemn injunction of the world's Redeemer, to go into every part of the earth, and *preach the gospel to every creature*. This one community—the church militant—we regard in the strictest and most legitimate sense of the term as a missionary society; and all who are sent out by this community to promulgate the glad tidings of a Savior's righteousness, we regard as Christian missionaries. The whole history of the sect of the despised Nazarene shows that these men, by whatever name they are called, whether missionaries or reforming apostles, have always been the chief agents in extending those heavenly principles, which, when they take full possession of the hearts of men, make the proud humble; the cruel and savage, mild and humane; the deceitful and sluggish, honest and industrious; and in a word, they cause the haters of God and man, to become true *Thcophilanthropists*, and the sincere worshipers of the Most High.

We wish, therefore, to know whether the men who are now engaged as Christian missionaries in extending the knowledge contained in the Holy Scriptures are bad men, and whether they are improperly obtruded on the world by the intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies. We will not attempt to compare the protestant missionaries of the nineteenth century with the Romish of the seventh. In bold enterprises there may be a striking similarity between the two; and in arduous labors and painful sufferings it may be that the latter have outdone the former. It is not our object here to impugn the motives or reprehend the conduct of any body of men, or even of any individual: we wish merely that men and things may be seen in their true light, and be regarded accordingly. Moreover, we shall here leave out of view the Romish missions; because, in the first place, we are not particularly acquainted with their operations at the present day; and because, in the second place, it is not so much against them as against protestant missions that the charges in questions seem to be directed.

The great founder of our religion, when he appeared among men, declared that his kingdom was not of this world; and the primitive heralds of the cross went forth, in obedience to their Lord's command, not to do their own will, not to enrich themselves, nor to seek their own glory, but on the contrary to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, to heal the sick, to visit the afflicted, the widow and the fatherless, and in a word, to employ every talent they possessed, in some way or other, for the benefit of their fellows of the human race. And modern protestant missionaries have done in like manner; or at least they have taken Jesus Christ and his apostles for their patterns: and though they have come very far short of accomplishing what they ought to have done; yet they have had a similar aim and endeavor. The signs of the times are as pleasing as they are striking; and it seems to us that the spirit of primitive Christians is reanimating those of this age; and sure we are that the missionaries of the present day—we here include protestants of every denomination—are doing what has not been done or attempted since the era of the



apostles. And who now are these men? They are educated men; and in this respect they will not suffer by comparison with any other class of professional men. They are philanthropic men, who can sacrifice their own time and property for the benefit of others, and relinquish inviting prospects and easy circumstances at home, for the sake of doing good to strangers. They are laborious and enterprising men, who delight to labor, and will not shrink from difficulties. That they are perfect men, entirely free from evil passions, pride, ambition, &c., we do not contend. Yet, as they have been sent out by public societies, composed of learned, talented, and pious men, to whom they are well known, it is right to suppose that they are worthy of the office and trust which have been confided to them. And such their conduct proves them to be. This is not the age of priestcraft; nor the time for vain and idle undertakings; and were the missionaries, or a majority of them, or any part of them, bad men, we know that the societies with which they are connected would dismiss them from their service. Now and then an individual has proved delinquent and has been removed from his trust: but,—and to the honor of Christianity be it said, these cases have been very few. On the point in question, we ask no more for missionaries, than is granted to other Christians; but whatever is conceded to the latter, is certainly due to the former. And any person will be convinced of the justice of this claim, if he will only take the trouble to examine one by one all the missionaries who are connected with any of the principal societies. Let him examine the missionaries of the English church missionary society, or of the United Brethren, or of the London missionary society, or of the English and American Baptist missionary societies, or of the German missionary societies, or of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and then let him say whether the majority, in either of the instances which we have cited, are bad men.

The policy and the regulations of the several missionary societies are not the same; so that what is true of one may not be true of another; still they are so much alike, that an account of one of them will afford a tolerable idea of the character of the whole. One of these societies, and it is not the largest nor the oldest, was formed in 1812. At the close of last year, it had under its care 56 stations, 85 ordained missionaries (four of whom were regularly educated physicians, and six others have prosecuted the subject so far as to be highly useful in that department of labor), 6 physicians not ordained, 6 printers, 20 teachers and catechists, 12 farmers and mechanics, and 137 married and unmarried female assistants; making a total of 266: it had also 39 churches, containing about 1940 communicants; 4 native preachers; 50 native assistants chiefly school teachers; 56,000 scholars; and 5 printing establishments, at which about 66,000,000 of pages had been printed, in sixteen different languages, exclusive of the English. According to the laws of that society, no one of its missionaries, or missionary assistants, shall engage in any business or transaction whatever for the sake of private gain; nor shall any one engage in transac-

tions or employments yielding pecuniary profit, without first obtaining the consent of the members of the mission; and the profits, in all such cases, shall be placed at the disposal of the mission. Moreover, no individual receives any salary or aid in any shape, except simply what is necessary for temporary and personal support. Besides this, some of the missionaries have contributed liberally, and a few have given all they possessed, to aid in the general cause. Any individual who enters the service of the society, and continues in it twenty, thirty, or more years, and then leaves it, goes without the least pecuniary compensation. Such are the operations, and such the circumstances under which they are carried on by the missionaries of one of the 'modern societies.' And now, gentle readers, whether these missionaries, and others like these, several hundred in number, ought or ought not to be stigmatized as bad men, and held up for scorn 'to point her slow, unmoving finger at,'—judge ye.

We proceed now to notice the accusation, that Christian missionaries, or "reforming apostles," are improperly obtruded on the world by an intemperate zeal of modern missionary societies. This very serious charge is leveled against 'the many thousands of intelligent and benevolent persons who are banded together with the avowed object of carrying to every child of Adam, all the blessings, spiritual and temporal, which intellectual and moral cultivation, in their purest and best forms, can bestow.' In behalf of these many thousands we ask, is the charge true? If so, then where is the evidence of it? And which of the societies is it, that is guilty of this impropriety? Is it that of the Church of England? Or is it that of the Moravians? Or those of the Baptists, the Presbyterians, or the Congregationalists, in Europe or America? And where are the instances in which modern missionary societies have improperly obtruded on the world their reforming apostles? That here and there a solitary case can be found in which a society may have adopted ill judged measures in sending out its agents, we do not deny; nor do we, inasmuch as we are ignorant of any such case, admit the fact. If instances, objectionable, yet well attested, do exist, then let them be pointed out, and receive the censure that is due; but even then let not the offenses of individuals, or of one society, be charged indiscriminately against the whole body of protestant Christians that are now actively engaged in extending that knowledge and that practice which, better than any or all things else, are calculated to promote the welfare of man both in this life and in that which is to come. While we admit that modern missionary societies may now and then have sent an individual where they ought not, we maintain that they have come far short of their duty by neglecting, as they have done, to send able and faithful missionaries among all the uncivilized, and benighted, nations and tribes of the human race. The sum of the Christian's duty in this matter is contained in few words, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. This plain and simple precept is enlisting the noblest minds throughout Christendom in one general effort to pour the light of science and pure religion on all the dark places of the

earth; and for our suffering fellow-men, it kindles a sympathy, deep strong, and lasting; and calls forth action, bold, generous, and untrifling. It is this precept which is uniting Christians together in missionary societies, that by united counsel and effort they may more speedily extend the blessings of Christianity to all men. "Point us," say they, "point us to the spot on the face of the earth, where liberty is best understood and most perfectly enjoyed, where intellect shoots forth in its richest luxuriance, and where all the kindlier feelings of the heart are constantly seen in their most graceful exercise; point us to the loveliest and happiest neighborhood in the world on which we dwell; and we tell you that our object is to render this whole earth, with all its nations and kindreds and tongues and people, as happy, nay, happier than that neighborhood."

And by what means do they propose to accomplish their object? 'It is,' we answer in their own words, 'by preaching Christ and him crucified: it is by going forth and telling the lost children of men, that God so loved the world that he gave his only begotten son to die for them; and by all the eloquence of such an appeal, to entreat them to be reconciled to God. Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself; is in practice, the sum of the gospel. We expect to teach one man obedience to this command, and that he will feel obliged to teach his neighbor, who in turn will feel obliged to teach others, until the whole world shall be peopled with one family of brethren. Animosity is to be done away by inculcating universally the obligation of love. It is thus we expect the time to be hastened onward, when men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; when nation shall no more lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more. How unlike to these are the means, by which men, on the principles of this world, effect a melioration in the condition of their species! Their almost universal agent is evil, threatened or inflicted, and from the nature of the case, it cannot be otherwise. The gospel produces good by the universal diffusion of the principles of benevolence. In the former case, one party must suffer; in the latter, all parties are certainly more happy. The one, like the mountain torrent, may fertilize now and then a valley beneath, but not until it has widely swept away the forest above, and disfigured the lovely landscape with many an unseemly scar. Not so the other:—

'It droppeth as the gentle rain from heaven  
' Upon the place beneath; it is twice blessed,  
' It blesseth him that gives, and him that takes.'

With this public declaration of the societies, accord the more private instructions given to those they send abroad. On this point, let a single extract to one of their missionaries, suffice. "In your intercourse with foreigners," say they, "be frank, courteous, and affectionate; but do not, at any time lose, or appear to lose, the solicitude for their spiritual welfare, which becomes an ambassador of Christ to

sinners. Let it always be evident to them, that you are mindful of their condition as sinners; of their immortality, and of the retributions of eternity. Administer Christian instruction, reproof, and consolation with judgment. Be affectionate while you are faithful. Sympathise with them in all times of affliction. Be attentive and kind, and be especially ready with the instructions and consolations of the gospel, in seasons of sickness and death. Do this from the promptings of your own feelings, without waiting to be solicited. But amidst your other labors, keep it in mind that your primary object is to introduce the gospel among the native population. It may be long, if your life should be spared, before you will see much fruit of your labors; even if you should live to old age, and continue in the field, you may never witness so much advance, as to be permitted to preach a single sermon publicly. There may be a very great and honorable work to be done before that point shall be attained; a work, in which many valuable lives may be worn out, and to good purpose. Do not feel that you will live in vain, if you accomplish nothing more than to open the field, call the attention of the churches to it, and prepare the instruments for facilitating the labor of your successors. The obstacles now in the way must be removed; and the preparatory work must be performed. Still, do not feel that a long period must necessarily elapse before the power of the gospel shall be witnessed in the country to which you go. Though we are not to look for any miraculous interference in the case, yet the providence of God may soon open a wide and effectual door. The political revolutions of the last thirty years, may be only the precursors of others, which shall extend their influence to governments that have been the longest and the most securely established. Labor not as without hope. Feel that the government of God is supreme, and his mercy is boundless, that the hearts of kings are in his hands and he will fulfill his promises to his Son.—In the want of Christian friends and counselors, maintain the most intimate communion with God. Lay all your plans and labors, all your perplexities and sins, before him. Read his word, keep his Sabbaths, and daily offer spiritual sacrifices on his altar. Do not peruse the Bible merely as a book to be studied; peruse it for devotional purposes, trying yourself by it, laboring after an entire conformity to its requisitions, and resting satisfied with nothing short of this. Acquire clear notions of the preciousness and indispensable importance of Christ and his salvation to yourself and to all men. Let it be a matter of thorough conviction. Let this also be a point settled in your mind, that nothing but the spirit of God can sustain you in your arduous undertaking and furnish you with wisdom, zeal and strength, requisite to make you a good missionary unto the end. Keep clearly before your mind, also, the actual character and condition of the heathen as subjects of God's moral government, the prospect before them, and their relation to Christ and his atonement. Think what he has done for them, and how ineffectual it will be, if his followers do not convey to them a knowledge of the gospel."



Such are the declarations and the instructions of modern missionary societies; and with these, so far as we have had opportunity to observe, all their measures and transactions coincide. It should be remarked here, that the societies are composed of many different denominations of Christians, and of persons of various professions, occupations, and ranks; who without regard to those denominations, occupations, &c. give voluntarily, and in some cases very largely, of their property to aid in the one common object—the diffusion of Christian knowledge. And where is the impropriety of this conduct? Now and then there may be failures and wrong designs and motives; but having made these exceptions, we affirm that the missionary societies have been established, and are supported and carried forward on the genuine principles of benevolence and charity. If it is intrusion for philanthropic men to unite together and send out agents to heal the sick, to clothe the naked, to feed the hungry, to instruct the ignorant, and wherever they go to publish the gospel of peace, then surely missionary societies are guilty of the charge; and like the apostles and early Christians are truly worthy of persecution. We will now desist from the consideration of these topics, which we fear have already wearied the patience of our readers. Not a love of controversy, but a sincere desire to vindicate the cause of Christian missions, has urged us to pursue the subject in the manner and to the extent we have done: our limits forbid us to say more; the nature of the charges, and the high source from which they emanate, have not allowed us to say less. Let us now take a brief review of the work before us.

The hierarchy, external rites, objections to Chinese recreations, and the actual state of the Catholic mission in the bishopric, are the topics which form our author's sketch of the Roman Catholic church at Macao. We have read the sketch with care, and in regard to his narrative of *facts*, see no occasion to dissent from our author in a single instance, and shall rely on him as our authority, in the account which we subjoin. Wishing to give our readers the principal facts in as few words as possible, we shall take the liberty of quoting freely—using our own or our author's words as shall best suit our convenience.

The Portuguese had traded to Macao for several years, when, in 1568, Melchior Carneiro, a Jesuit, was placed at the head of the ecclesiastical establishment: he came from Ethiopia a bishop *in partibus* of Nicæa, and by permission of Gregory XIII governed the church till 1581. Francis Peres and Manoel Leixeira, however, seem to have been the first Jesuits that reached Macao: as early as 1565 they secured for themselves a residence at the foot of the 'Monte.' The sovereign of Portugal soon solicited that Macao should be made a diocese: Gregory agreed to this in 1575, on condition that the king should provide the see with vestments, plate, books, and other necessary utensils, and that he should keep the buildings in repair; and in return, the king should have power to propose subjects duly qualified for the government of the new diocese;—this diocese extended to the wall that crosses the isthmus of the peninsula, a territory somewhat

less than three miles in length and one in breadth! By a decision of Innocent XII however, it actually comprehends the provinces of Kwangse and Kwangtung, including of course the island of Haenan. For more than 120 years, the diocese was ruled by governors of the bishopric, who had neither the power of conferring holy orders, consecrating the oil, anointing bishops, nor the right to use the crozier, the ring and the pectoral cross. In 1691, a churchman, John de Casal, succeeded to the governors with the authority of bishop. By a law of 1611, the bishop takes the title of *dom*, and by another of 1789, that of *excellency*, as honorary member of his majesty's council. The bishop has the power of appointing his vicar-general, and of filling vacant places in the secular hierarchy; which appointments, however, must be submitted to the court and confirmed by the king. In 1760, Casal instituted a 'chapter,' composed of a dean, a chanter, a chief treasurer, an archdeacon, and a schoolmaster. In the course of eight days, reckoning from the demise of a bishop, these five dignitaries must choose a capitular vicar, who remains at the head of ecclesiastical affairs till the successor of the deceased has taken charge of the bishopric. Next to these, range six canons, two subcanons six chaplains, and two masters of ceremonies. The bishop's salary is two thousand taels per annum; the salaries of the others are low. In 1831, the whole hierarchical establishment cost the royal chest 8087 taels; and in 1832, it cost 8273. Expectant individuals of the clergy, or those who have not been provided with an employment or living in the diocese, were, in 1833, five in number. The members of the royal college of St. Joseph have their superiors at the court of Lisbon; the regular orders of St. Dominic, St. Augustin, St. Francis de Assis, as well as the nuns of St. Clare, are accountable to their respective provincials, residing in Goa: nevertheless, in certain cases, the bishop of Macao exercises a sort of syndic magistracy over them all.—The episcopal see was vacated in 1828 by the demise of dom Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cachim.

“At the head of the celestial hierarchy, stands the holy Virgin, queen of heaven, invoked at Macao, under twenty-eight different denominations. Besides eighteen festivals distinctly consecrated to the devotions of the holy Virgin, there are thirteen dedicated to saints, male and female. These solemnities last nine, ten, or thirteen days, and generally end by religious public processions. A flag, adorned with a conspicuous emblem, relative to the object of veneration, is hoisted near the church; and similar signals are occasionally perceived at several parishes and convents. Devout people resort to them every day and pray at the shrine of the saint. Thirty holy days are by command of the Roman see annually and solemnly celebrated. To them, and to the ceremonies above adverted to, we have still to add twenty-seven days, on which the faithful may hear mass, and now and then a sermon in remembrance of a blessed partner in the heavenly glory.” Macao can boast of eleven brotherhoods, exclusive of the prototype, ‘Misericordia,’ and a few in embryo, waiting animation from the pope. Each brotherhood wears a distinctive vestment

at the public processions. The most ancient of the brotherhoods is that of 'our Lord of Mercy;' those of 'our Lady of the Rosary' and of 'our Lady of the Remedies' are the most remarkable for the elegance, splendor, and riches displayed in their processions. "St. Anthony is a favorite saint, particularly with the sailor population. At times the devotee falls on his knees, worships, and solicits the potent intercession of his saint. But no sooner does the clamant fancy that the request has either been slighted or the favor provokingly postponed, than the image is taken from the shelf, upbraided, and beaten: likewise, no sooner does the supplicant presume that the saint has granted his protection, than the darling of the petitioner's heart is caressed and adored, and tapers and incense burnt before the wooden Anthony. We shall proceed from the amusing," says our author, "to the most seriously melancholic procession. The Sunday of the cross, to judge from the emblems exhibited in this procession, represents a transition from heathenism to Christianity. The Redeemer, an image of the size of a man, clad in a purple garment, wearing on his head a crown of thorns, and on his shoulder a heavy cross, bends one of his knees on the bottom of a bier, supported by eight of the most distinguished citizens. The bishop with the secular and regular clergy, the governor, the minister, the nobility, the military, and the whole Roman catholic population, it may be said, assist, deeply affected by a scene which prognosticates a divine sacrifice to be made for the sake of reconciling man to his Creator. Young children, both of clear and dark shades, arranged in fancy dresses of angels, with beautiful muslin moving wings at their shoulders, carry in miniature shape the instruments which were required in the act of crucifixion. This procession takes a range over almost the whole city; and when finished, the image of Christ is deposited in its shrine at the convent of St. Augustine."

In 1593, the senate reported to the king of Portugal that Macao had 'a cathedral with two parishes, a misericordia with two hospitals, and four religious bodies, namely, Augustines, Dominicans, Jesuits, and Capuchins.' In 1833, there were four Augustines, three Dominicans and three Capuchins, two of whom had in charge the spiritual and temporary concerns of the nuns, then thirty-seven in number.

Previous to the overthrow of the inquisition at Goa in 1812, delinquents were sent thither for chastisement, and various measures were adopted to free Macao from the Chinese theatres and religious processions. In one instance, a stage on which the Chinese were acting, was, by order of the vicar-general, broken down: the viceroy of Goa, in a letter to the senate, dated 1736, disapproved of this conduct, and gave orders to the chapter to reprehend the vicar-general, and recommend him in future to abstain from similar behavior. "This salutary admonition (says our author) was set aside by a letter of March 18th, 1758, in which the tribunal of the inquisition prohibits any kind of Chinese theatricals or processions to be suffered. However, several of the governors, recollecting that the Portuguese can exercise no

jurisdiction over the Chinese, were prudent enough to connive at their fleeting recreations; but in 1780, at the instigation of a delegate from the holy office, then residing at Macao, the senate gave orders to the procurator to demolish scaffolds, which had been erected on occasion of a solemn festival, which was to wander through the place. His zeal was frustrated. Having permission from the mandarins to raise temporary stands, the insult of throwing them down would be resented; and the Chinese advised the Portuguese not to provoke tumult by an act of intemperate zeal. Convinced that no effort of the civil police could hinder a pagan festival, duly prepared, from showing itself in the town, a bishop resolved to try spiritual influence on his flock. His excellency, dom Fr. Francis de Na. Sra. da Luz Cachim, issued a pastoral admonition, which the curates published in their respective parishes. It was dated 15th of April 1816, and breathes a fatherly exhortation, that all Christians should, for the sake of the salvation of their souls, abstain from having a peep either through the window from behind the Venetian blinds, or in the street, at the pageants the Chinese were going to carry through the city. Disobedience was threatened with the penalty of the great excommunication; a punishment which could not be applied, because out of the whole population there were perhaps not fifty adult Christians, who had resisted the impulse of curiosity; and others gratified it by looking at the gorgeous ceremonies, repeated by the Chinese during three days, and by gazing at night, in the bazar, at ingenious illuminations, theatrical jests, and amusements."

"It is now exactly two hundred and fifty years since the Roman catholic missionaries were allowed to remain at Shaouking foo, in the province of Kwangtung. Two Jesuits were permitted to enter Peking in 1601, where they began clandestinely to teach a doctrine, the success of which has been various. It depended for upwards of a century on the connivance of local officers, till Kanghe, in 1692, enfranchised the new sect, and placed it on the same footing with those of Laoukeun and Budha. This favor Yungehing thought proper to repeal; and in 1723, he prohibited in his vast dominions the exercise of Christianity. This prohibition was further enforced in respect to Macao, by the twelfth paragraph of a convention concluded in 1749, between the local government of Macao and the provincial magistrates of Kwangtung. These public impediments, and the scanty means that could be placed at the disposal of missionaries for ingratiating themselves with inferior officers, that they might wink at the violation of the laws, have greatly retarded the labor of foreign priests. At present, no European is residing among the Christian population, which, in 1830, amounted by approximation, in the bishopric of Macao, to 6090 Chinese. The spiritual care is entrusted to the devotion and zeal of seven Chinese catholic priests, who in obedience to the direction of their prelate, the bishop of Macao, or his substitute, the capitular vicar, visit by turn the six still existing mis-

sions: viz



Portuguese Orthography.	English Orthography.	Chinese Christians.
1. Chunte,	Shuntih,	1250
2. Haiman,	Haenan,	855
3. Chaocheu,	Shaouchow,	750
4. Chaoking,	Shaouking,	730
5. Namhai,	Nanhae,	1850
6. Namcheu,	————	655
		6090

“In 1833, there were in Macao, and the villages of Patane, Mongha, and Lapa, 7000 Chinese Christians; which (with the six above named missions,) make a total of 13,090. The salary of each of the priests is eighty-two dollars yearly. Traveling expenses, estimated at from forty to fifty dollars according to the remoteness of the place to which the priest is sent, the pay of catechists, and various other charges, are carried to separate accounts. To meet these pecuniary exigencies of the mission, the revenue of a certain capital is applied; its management is left by appointment of the bishop to three canons, who are bound, at the expiration of a year, to lay before the prelate an accurate statement of the receipts and disbursements of the fund to which I have just alluded.”

Such, according to our author, was the state of the Romish church at Macao, when he sent his book to press, about a year ago; how it will be affected by recent changes which have taken place in the west, time will show; we hail, however, with joy the publication of the decree which we subjoin, copied from the London Morning Herald, for June 16th, 1834.

#### DECREE.

“On the report of the minister of ecclesiastical affairs and justice, and with the advice of the council of state, I think fit, in the name of the queen, to decree as follows:—

ART. I. All convents, monasteries, colleges, *hospices*, establishments whatsoever of monks of the regular orders in Portugal, Algarves, the adjacent islands, and Portuguese dominions, whatever may be their denomination, institution, and rules, are henceforth extinguished.

ART. II. All the estates of these convents, &c., are incorporated with the national domains.

ART. III. The sacred utensils and ornaments employed in the divine service are placed at the disposal of the respective ordinaries, to be distributed among the churches of their dioceses which have most need of them.

ART. IV. Each of the monks of the suppressed convents, &c., shall receive an annual pension for his support, unless he receives an equal or greater income from a benefice or a public employment. The following are excepted:—

(a) Those who took arms against the legitimate throne, or against the national liberty.

(b) Those who abused their ministry in the confessional or the pulpit, in favor of the usurpation.

(c) Those who accepted benefices or public employments from the government of the usurper.

(d) Those who denounced or directly persecuted their fellow-citizens for their fidelity to the legitimate throne and the constitutional charter.

(e) Those who accompanied the troops of the usurper.

(f) Those who, on the reëstablishment of the authority of the queen, or since, in the districts in which they reside, abandoned their convents, monasteries, &c.

ART. V. All laws and ordinances to the contrary are abolished. The minister of the ecclesiastical affairs of justice is charged with the execution of this decree.

(Signed)

DON PEDRO, *Duke of Braganza*,  
JOAQUIM ANTONIO D'AGUIAR.

Palace das Necessidades, May 28th, 1834."

With regard to the domestic and foreign relations of Macao, which form the subject of the remaining part of our author's little book, our remarks shall be brief and our extracts few. The domestic relations are considered both 'politically' and 'economically.' Under the first head, the author remarks concerning the municipal members, and the subaltern officers of the city; and then proceeds to notice 'the Christian population generally.' He notices the practice of the senate, in former times, of banishing and transporting the inhabitants; and as an instance to what length they stretched their authority, he cites the following sentence from a translation, dated 1712. "Nobody living under the jurisdiction of the senate, whatever may be his qualification or situation, either citizen, inhabitant, pilot, boatswain, sailor, or common man, shall be allowed to transfer himself from one quarter or place of abode in the town to another, without a permission from the senate, in accordance with a royal provision, under the penalty of being held and treated like a suspicious person and enemy of the land, and punished with the loss of his property." The following edict, dated 1744, sir A. thinks may probably excite a smile: "it forbids, under a pecuniary mulct of ten taels, the natives from wearing a wig or carrying a paper umbrella!"

The writer next touches on the military and civil departments, and then gives the following account of the Chinese population:—"The Portuguese, since their first settlement at Macao, have constantly been at variance with those Chinese who wanted to establish themselves there, because at first it was policy to limit their number. From ancient records, we are led to believe, that all those Chinese, who had no fixed abode, went out of the town at night; that not only the gates to the districts, but even the street-doors were shut. In 1691, it was resolved that no other Chinese than those whose names were inscribed on the registers of the senate should remain; the rest had orders by proclamation to leave the city within three days: the refractory were to be handed over to the mandarins as vagabonds.

No more than ninety coolies, selected by three petty police officers, were suffered to stay. In 1719, the senate obtained the consent of the mandarins, that only seventy workmen in wood, and bricklayers, ten butchers, four blacksmiths, and one hundred coolies, should live in the town; and to prevent them from fixing themselves in the place, the senate published an order that no house owner should either let or sell his house to a Chinese,—expecting by this measure that many of them would evacuate the place. Other expedients were also tried for the same purpose, but all proved ineffectual. At last, Francis da Cunha e Menezes, the governor-general, granted permission by his letter of April 29th, 1793, for the inhabitants to let their houses to Chinese.”—In 1830, the Chinese population was estimated to be 30,000, and the foreign, at 4628 souls.

The financial concerns of Macao, or the ‘domestic relations considered economically,’ have for many years past, we believe, been in a very unsettled and unprosperous state. Better things are now hoped for; and we trust that under present circumstances, and those in immediate prospect, Macao will rise and grow in importance. Its foreign relations, to the consideration of which our author devotes several pages, are at present very limited and of little value; but the time was, when they were extensive and exceedingly profitable; and they may become so again. In several respects the situation of Macao is very favorable for commerce; and if the narrow policy of former years is exchanged for a liberal and enterprising line of conduct; if security for persons and property, liberty of conscience, and the freedom of the press, are guaranteed to all; and (what is perhaps not less important than any of the other measures,) if Chinese interference is properly resisted, Macao may become in a few years one of the most important cities in the east.

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ART. II. *Our country,—or national partiality among the Chinese, the English, and Americans, with remarks concerning the cause and effects of that partiality.*

All those who are familiarly acquainted with the people of China, Great Britain, and the United States of America, may frequently have observed in each a strong inclination to extol themselves, even at the expense of others. In some instances, this disposition has been carried to a great extreme, and persons of excellent talents have employed their energies to depreciate, not to say vilify others; and simply because they did not belong to their own country. The foreign resident here sees this disposition exhibited by the Chinese in no dubious manner, and on numerous occasions. This feeling is cherished by parents and teachers, and by them it is communicated to the rising generation. The stranger who visits England, and be-

comes familiar with the people of that country, will observe wherever he goes, more or less of the same disposition; and if he cross the Atlantic, he will there also find it producing the same effects as in England and China. We will not undertake to say in which of the three nations this partiality exists in the greatest degree: it will suffice for our present purpose to notice its existence, and point out some of its bad effects. In order to bring the subject the more distinctly to view, we will cite the opinions of a few, who may serve as the representatives of many. We will give the opinions of one from each of the nations named above, and in their own words,—commencing with the Chinese.

“I felicitate myself that I was *born* in China, and constantly think how very different it would be with me, if I had been born beyond the seas in some remote part of the earth, where the people, far removed from the converting maxims of the ancient kings, and ignorant of the domestic relations, are clothed with the leaves of plants, eat wood, dwell in the wilderness, and live in the holes of the earth: though born in this world, in such a condition, I should not have been different from the beasts of the field. But now, happily, I have been born in the middle kingdom. I have a house to live in; have food and drink, and elegant furniture; have clothing and caps, and infinite blessings: truly, the highest felicity is mine.” *Teèn Kesheih.*

“No cloud in summer was ever more fully surcharged with electricity than England is with moral energy, which need but a conductor to issue out in any given direction. England has become the *capital* of a new moral world—the *eminence* on which intellectual light strikes before it visits the nations—the *fountain head* of the rivers that are going forth to water the earth; and it is at her option to have well-wishers in every country, and to place herself at the head of the most numerous sect that ever existed, and which is daily increasing—the men who are panting for civil and religious liberty. \* \* \* \* The power and the resources of Britain, pent up at home, will spread themselves as wide as the winds and waves can carry them, and will cause the branches of English population and literature to spread over every soil. Every country will be prepared for the reception of English as the standard of literature, and the medium by which it may be transmitted or promoted, when they feel the superiority of the English brought home to them in all the productions of life, and in the value which their industry confers upon every species of manufacture; but above all, England has *shot ahead of all other nations*, and is more rapidly carried along by the current of events and the influence of the times, and has anticipated those changes and meliorations, of which other nations begin to feel the necessity, and those improvements in which they all acknowledge her to be their precursor and model: this priority of progress, and the belonging, as it were, to a more advanced age, will contribute to the eagerness with which all nations will be brought to the study of English, as the key to modern discoveries, and the storehouse of those truths which are to be beneficial to mankind.” *James Douglas.*



“And now, let us indulge an honest exultation in the conviction of the benefit, which the example of *our country* has produced, and is likely to produce, on human freedom and human happiness. And let us endeavor to comprehend, in all its magnitude, and to feel in all its importance, the part assigned to us in the great drama of human affairs. We are placed at the *head* of the systems of representative and popular governments. If in our case the system ultimately fail, popular governments must be pronounced *impossible*. No combination of circumstances more favorable to the experiment can ever be expected to occur. The *last hopes of mankind*, therefore, *rest with us*; and if it should be proclaimed, that our example had become an argument against the experiment, the knell of popular liberty would be sounded throughout the earth. \* \* \* \* Let us then cultivate a true spirit of union and harmony. In pursuing the great objects, which our condition points out to us, let us act under a settled conviction, and an habitual feeling, that these twenty-four states are one country. Let our conceptions be enlarged to the circle of our duties. Let us extend our ideas over the whole of the vast field in which we are called to act. Let our object be, *our country, our whole country, and nothing but our country.*” *Daniel Webster.*

The publications from which we have quoted these paragraphs, rank among the popular works of the day; and the sentiments contained in them are quite characteristic of the nations to which their authors respectively belong. And considering the circumstances in which the sentiments were expressed, they cannot be regarded as destitute of force and truth. Mr. Webster, remembering the struggles of his country in the contest for liberty, freedom, and independence, and viewing at the same time the dangers to which it is exposed in the strifes of individuals and of states, would urge his countrymen to preserve their union, and to guard, protect, and improve not this or that state alone, but their whole country. In like manner, Mr. Douglas, contemplating his country's resources, physical, intellectual, and moral, and seeing all that it has done, and looking forward to the future and considering all that it may and ought to accomplish, would stimulate the Britons to new efforts by making them see and feel the full weight of the responsibilities that rest on them. No doubt, also, that our Chinese author was honest in the view which he took of the subject: as a moral philosopher, anxious to see his country contented and happy in the possessions they enjoyed, while at the same time he was entirely ignorant of all the world, except some parts of his own country, and perhaps also some of the petty states which are dependent on the celestial empire, he might very naturally view with complacency his own happy lot, and by citing his own example, induce others to feel as contented as himself. But, if we except the Chinese, who is there that will adopt the language of *Teén Kesheih*? And, if we except the English, how many are there in all the rest of the wide world that will respond to the above cited declarations of Douglas? Or who, but Americans, will affirm with Webster, that the last hopes of mankind rest with the

republicans of North America? But we have seen only a part of the difficulty; for while a few content themselves with extolling their own country, and whatever belongs to it, others proceed further, and defame both those and that which are not of their own country: witness the Chinese edicts; witness also English and American periodicals, books of travels, &c.

We do not wish to have men become cosmopolites, or wandering stars, to whom is reserved the blackness of darkness; nor do we desire to have the inhabitants of any country believe that they are the people and that wisdom will die with them. Either extreme is bad; the one would make this world a chaos, and the other would make it very much what it now is—a theatre of contending nations. But such it ought not to be. In theory, even the Chinese admit the maxim, that all people under the whole heaven are one family; but on their practice the maxim has no force; and like the ancient Greeks and Romans they regard all people who are situated beyond their own country as barbarians. Out of their own mouths, therefore, the sentence of condemnation is pronounced against them. And how now stands this matter with the nations of Christendom? If we confine the question to England and America, who is there that does not *know* that all the nations of the earth are of one blood, and the workmanship of one hand? In the best sense of the word, therefore they are “brethren.” What then ought to be their feelings and their conduct towards one another? For the Chinese, and others like them, there may be some shadow of excuse for treating others as barbarians, (though in fact there is nothing that can free them from guilt in this case;) yet who will undertake to justify those, who, knowing that all the families of the earth are of one kindred, willingly injure and destroy those who are not of the same country with themselves? The whole truth of this matter is summed up in a few words; whatever tends to create and perpetuate bad feeling among nations, ought at once to be set aside, and the rule of the New Testament, thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, adopted in its stead. This would be true philosophy and the best policy.

The age of monopolies is gone, and an age of equal rights and true benevolence is ushered in upon us. It is a glorious age; an age of light and improvements. It consults for the poor, the needy, and the oppressed, and seeks to benefit all without distinction. It strives to dry up the streams of misery, and to turn the bounties of God’s providence to their legitimate channels. It determines by moral force, the strength and the rights of individuals and of nations. Such is the tendency of a spirit that is abroad in the earth. But in striving to meliorate the condition of mankind generally, we must take the world as we find it. We must, therefore, consider England with all her military and navel forces, which are maintained at an expense almost sufficient to educate a kingdom; and we must keep in mind that all these forces have been called into existence by the exigencies of past times. So too we must take all the other parts of the world; we must view them as they are. The annual military expenses of

Europe, now in time of peace, are four hundred millions of dollars; and in war they have been nine hundred millions. The late American war cost a hundred and fifty millions of dollars. The whole cost of wars in Europe, for twenty-two years, has been estimated at twelve thousand millions of dollars; which would make about twenty-five dollars for every member of the human family. Such are the sums expended by Christian nations for mutual murder! But if the principles for which we contend were in full operation, then the necessity for such expensive armaments would cease, and the means now used for their support might be turned to the direct improvement of the condition of the poor and needy and the ignorant and wretched of every description. The removal of the causes, therefore, which prevent the entire resources of all good men from being united in their endeavors to extend the empire of peace and goodwill, is the grand point at which we have aimed in these desultory and common-place remarks.

The feeling which every one cherishes, or ought to cherish, towards the place—or rather towards the scenes and the persons which give character and interest to the place—of his nativity, is very much like that to which the compassionate Savior alluded, when he declared to his disciples, that he would never forget them. The two feelings are similar in their strength and permanency; and they are, in both cases, alike worthy to be preserved and cherished. The man that should forget his country, or neglect to protect and benefit it when occasion required, would scarcely be a greater monster, than the mother that should cast out her offspring to perish. The Christian who neglects to provide for his own house, denies the faith and is worse than an infidel; and so too, if he neglect his country he falls (we think he does) under the same condemnation. Christian ethics are simple: they require just judgment, relief to be administered to the widow and the fatherless, the captive to be set at liberty, the hungry to be fed, and each individual to do good to all men as there is opportunity. When such sentiments prevail, men will cease to boast of their own, or to boast in themselves, but will cooperate in kind offices, as they are bound to do, and strive together to promote the welfare of the whole human family.

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ART. III. *Sumatra: murder of Rev. Messrs. Lyman and Munson; with brief notices of the island, its productions, and inhabitants; particularly the Battaks.*

We omitted to notice, in the last number of the Repository, the murder of the late Rev. Henry Lyman and Rev. Samuel Munson, in order that we might have opportunity to obtain for our readers a full and authentic statement respecting that horrible transaction, and

to add at the same time such an account of the country and its inhabitants generally, and of the Battaks in particular, as to enable us to form correct opinions of the natives, as well as of the propriety of efforts for extending among them the blessings of civilization and Christianity. Two letters, and three separate reports are now before us, all of which we will here introduce. The first is from the Rev. Mr. Medhurst, dated,—

“Batavia, September 5th, 1834.

“My dear Sir,

“It is with the greatest grief I have to inform you, that the melancholy tidings reached us yesterday evening, of the inhuman murder of both the brethren Lyman and Munson, by the Battaks in the interior of Tappanooly, on the 28th of June. A report has been received from the post-holder at Tappanooly, that on the 17th they arrived there from Pulo Nias, and declared their intention of visiting and exploring the interior of the Battak country. From this, they were strongly dissuaded, by the abovenamed person, a Dutch lieutenant, and the commander of a government schooner at anchor there; but notwithstanding every representation and remonstrance, they insisted on prosecuting their journey, saying that they came with friendly, and not with hostile, intentions, and therefore had nothing to fear. The post-holder accordingly provided them with coolies, a guide, and an interpreter; and on the 23d, they set off on their journey. They proceeded two days journey into the interior, and on the night of the 27th, lodged at the village of a friendly chief, who received them well, and entertained them hospitably, but strongly dissuaded them from proceeding farther, as the natives were in a state of disturbance a little onward, and he could not insure their safety a step beyond his own village. The brethren returned the same answer as before, and proceeded.

“About noon on the 28th, they were met by five armed Battaks, who came, as it would appear, from the Battak chief, requiring them immediately to return, for evil was before them. The brethren said they saw no danger, and the Battaks, after having supplied themselves with tobacco, departed. About four o'clock the same afternoon, the brethren found themselves suddenly surrounded, in a wood, by about 200 armed Battaks, who showed hostile intentions. The brethren gave themselves out as friends, and threw them tobacco, cloth, &c. The Battaks received these, but seemed still hostilely inclined, when the brethren, to remove their suspicions, gave up their pistols, of which they had each a brace. Not satisfied with this, they demanded a musket which was in the hand of Mr. Lyman's servant, who refused to give it up to any but his master. Mr. Lyman then required it from him, and handed it over to the nearest Battak, who immediately turned it round, and with the butt end gave brother Lyman a blow on the chest, which brought him to the ground. The signal for assault being given, the brethren were soon stabbed, their arms chopped off, and their bodies devoured. Their attendants fled; and one of the servants has now arrived in Batavia roads.



“This mysterious event has overwhelmed us as much with grief as astonishment. We are at a loss to account for the reasons of this afflictive dispensation. The Lord’s promises, his people’s prayers, and the experience of the faithful in all ages, together with the Redeemer’s purpose of reseuing every nation under heaven from ignorance and idolatry, would all seem to promise a contrary result. No good purpose (as far as we short sighted mortals can penetrate,) would seem to be answered by such an event; and yet the Lord has permitted it for reasons best known to himself. As far as we can see, the chains which bound the Battaks in ignorance and superstition seem to be faster rivetted, the purposes of the church for their evangelization thwarted, the zeal of future laborers damped, and the objections of the multitude that missionary efforts are only a waste of men and money, apparently strengthened; and yet the Lord can bring good out of evil, make the blood of the martyrs the seed of the church, and render the melancholy end of our brethren only the means of whetting the edge of keen desire with which the youth of our native lands are burning to enter the lists with the prince of darkness. Oh, that we may have grace to say, it is the Lord, let him do what seemeth him good.

“Our afflicted sisters are overwhelmed with grief and dismay. Oh, it was a sad task to break the intelligenece to them: a ship had arrived from Padang, they were intensely expecting news, and good news of their beloved husbands, when we called. They read however the contrary in our countenances; and when they each asked after the fate of their partner, it was heart rending to say, ‘both gone.’ ‘Where are they?’ ‘We trust, in heaven.’ We spared them the worst of the recital; but as it was, the shock was almost too much for them to bear. In a moment to be plunged from the height of expectation into the depth of despondency is almost too much for the human mind, and still more for the female mind, to endure. The Lord, however, is in an especial manner a very present help in every time of trouble, and will give strength equal to the day. May our dear sisters find it so, and may the Lord bring good out of this apparent evil.

Yours in great grief,

W. H. MEDNURST.”

The foregoing letter expresses so fitly the emotions and sentiments which must spontaneously break forth from every Christian’s heart, at the moment of receiving such sad intelligenece, that we gladly give it publicity, and trust that Mr. M. will excuse us for the liberty we have taken in doing so. And we hope the ‘bereaved widows’ will also pardon us for the liberty we take in making the following short extract from their letter on the same subject. It is dated,—

“Java, September 25th, 1834.

“To \_\_\_\_\_,

“Dear Sir,—It is with hearts deeply pained, that we address you as bereaved widows. We are indeed afflicted, yet the Lord appears daily for our consolation. Clouds and darkness envelope this mysterious, heart-rending providence. But what we know not now, we shall

know hereafter. Our beloved husbands left Batavia, April 8th; arrived at Padang on the 26th; left Padang May 12th, for Nias; visited the Batu group, and arrived at Nias, May 28th. Reached Tappanooly, June 17th; entered the interior of Sumatra on the 23d; and on the 28th, were cut off.

“Inclosed are the received accounts from the post-holder at Tappanooly, from Mr. Munson’s teacher who has returned to Batavia, and also from one of their servants, now in our family. We have received journals accompanied by charts, containing accounts of all their wanderings, till the day before they entered the Battak country; and a number of letters, dated June 22d, among which is one written by Mr. Munson to the Board. We have forwarded packages to the Missionary Rooms at three different times, containing all the facts we are in possession of respecting these two sons of the church. Well may Zion mourn: *our* only consolation is, their abundant preparation for an exchange of worlds. \* \* \* \*

Truly yours in affliction,

ABBY J. MUNSON.  
ELIZA P. LYMAN.”

The following is a copy of the report from the post-holder, dated,  
“Tappanooly, July 2d, 1834.

“To my bitter grief, I find myself under the necessity of communicating to you the following melancholy account:—On the 17th of June, there arrived here, on board the praoe (prow) Jengah, under the command of Malim Soetan, from Padang and Nias, the Rev. Messrs. Lyman and Munson, both American missionaries of the reformed persuasion, who informed me that it was their intention to undertake a journey into the Battak country, to Tobah, &c., for which end, they requested my assistance in the providing of the necessary guides, interpreters, and coolies for their baggage; which were accordingly provided by me, consisting of 14 persons, viz. Dartoc rajah Mankoeta, the head of Kelangan district, together with a police runner, named Si Rakim, and ten coolies; to which were added their own two servants: but not before I myself, together with the second lieutenant Sehook, military commandant here, and Mr. Sickman, the commander of his Netherlands majesty’s schooner Argo, had most strongly dissuaded them from their purpose, but in vain. On the 23d of June they went from the island on which the fort is built, by way of Tappanooly to Tobah; and on the 30th, there appeared before me, the above named Dartoc rajah Mankoeta, the police runner, all the coolies, and one of the servants of the above named gentlemen called Si Jan, returning out of the Battak country, who both severally and collectively related to me the following tale:—

“That after their departure from Tappanooly, they passed the first night in the village of Si Boenga-Boenga, at the house of rajah Si Boendar; the second night in the village of Rappal, at the dwelling of rajah Swasa; the third at Pageran Lambong, at the palace of rajah Gooroo Si Nongan; and from thence they went to Gocting,

to the house of rajah Aniani Bussie: by all which chiefs they were received with hospitality and respect, but who notwithstanding most strongly advised them not to prosecute their journey any further towards Tobah, saying, that at Tobah there existed disturbances; that at that moment the journey was not to be undertaken without danger, and that they could not, and would not be responsible for the consequences. To which Messrs. Lyman and Munson gave answer to these rajahs, that since they came not as enemies, but as friends to visit the Battak country, they had therefore no reason to fear the least danger, and thus they would prosecute their journey to Tobah. In this resolution they remained firm till the 28th, when they again prosecuted their journey from Goeting towards the village of Sakka at Selindong, with the intention of spending the night with the rajah Berampat at that place. While they were upon the march, about half way there, just at noon they were met by five armed Battak people, who entreated them to return, and not to prosecute their journey any further, if they would avoid exposing their lives to danger. That the above named gentlemen, notwithstanding all these warnings, and the urgent request of their own followers to return, would pay no attention to all this; and the five Battaks, after being provided with a little tobacco, were sent back to tell their rajah that they saw no danger in prosecuting their journey to Tobah, since they came to visit them as friends, and not as enemies. Whereupon they proceeded on their march, till about 4 P. M., when suddenly they saw themselves surrounded in a wood, by a band of about 200 armed Battaks, who made them lay down their arms, and then inhumanly murdered both Messrs. Lyman and Munson and one of their servants. In the meantime, the rest were enabled, after having forsaken the baggage, to jump into the thicket, and by flight to save themselves. That they, on their retreat hitherwards, had heard that Mr. Lyman and his servant, the same evening in which they were murdered, and Mr. Munson the following morning, had been made away with by their murderers. You will thus by this declaration, be pleased to observe, that however great this misfortune has been, the gentlemen themselves have been much to blame, because neither here, nor in the Battak country, would they give ear to any one's warning or good counsel. The property of the deceased shall be forwarded by me to Mr. Boyle, at Padang, according to their requests before they went from hence into the Battak country.

(Signed) F. BONNET,  
The post-holder of Tappanooly."

The account given by the Chinese teacher who accompanied Messrs. Lyman and Munson to Tappanooly.

"That on the 9th day of the 5th moon (17th June), they arrived at Tappanooly or rather at Panehan, an island off Tappanooly, on which the Dutch establishment is situated, where they remained about six days, when Messrs. Lyman and Munson, accompanied by the post-holder and commandant went to Tappanooly, and from

thence the above named gentlemen proceeded to the interior. On the third day after their arrival, the teacher went to the house of a Chinese from Macao, who was the farmer of opium for that district, where he met with a Battak rajah, of the district of Sibulan, who asked wherefore they were come. The teacher replied, to visit the Battak country. The rajah said, you ought by no means to go thither, because five years ago a white man traveled in the Battak country and took away some of the earth; whereupon, the following year, the Mohammedan Padries made an attack on the Battak country and slew about 20,000 Battaks. On this account the Battaks were incensed against the white men, and would not let them travel into the interior. But if you are set on going, I will first go round to the courts of the various rajahs, and ask them their opinion on the subject; and in fifteen days let you know the result. The teacher reported this to Mr. Munson, who told the post-holder. The latter asked him where he had his information, and was referred to the teacher, who said that a Malay man had told him. The post-holder then called the police runners, and threatened that if any man should spread such a report, he would give him a couple of dozen. The teacher himself did not hear this, but had it from the police runners. The next day, the teacher again remonstrated with Mr. Munson, on the propriety of waiting at least fifteen days, that they might hear from the interior. Mr. M. at first seemed willing to comply, but the next morning, he told the teacher that they had resolved on proceeding, and had already called coolies. Upon this, the teacher said, that if such was their determination, he would not venture to accompany them. Mr. Munson then said, 'if you will not go, you had better stay here for me, and if I am not back in six weeks, you can return to Batavia.'

"A day or two before their departure, the teacher went to the post-holder, and found the coolies complaining that the Battaks were a dangerous people, and might attempt to do them an injury; that, in such case, they were too few to resist, and if they should run away, and leave the gentlemen to their fate, they would be blamed. To which the post-holder replied, you may escape if you can, and will not be blamed. The teacher then went to Mr. Munson, and told him not to depend on what the post-holder said as to the absence of danger. Mr. Munson then conferred with Mr. Lyman, who said, they did not depend on the post-holder or any one else, but on God."

The account given by Si Jan the servant who accompanied Messrs. Lyman and Munson.

"On a Monday, says the servant, Messrs. Lyman and Munson commenced their journey, accompanied by a number of coolies and police runners, and an interpreter. They were accompanied from Panchan as far as Tappanooly by the post-holder and a Dutch officer who went with them a little way beyond Tappanooly, till they commenced ascending the hills, when they mutually took leave. The road was exceedingly difficult, consisting of hills and ravines, covered with thick forests; so steep in many places that they were oblig-



ed to ascend by means of rattans tied to the tops of rocks, and to descend on their haunches. The coolies were compelled to tie the burdens on their backs, being unable to carry them on their shoulders or heads. The gentlemen, however, were enabled to master these difficulties. The thicket was so dense, that they were not much troubled with the heat of the sun; and the road so solitary, that they seldom met above four or five individuals in the course of a day's march. No houses or villages were seen on the road, and only at the end of each day's journey did they come to anything like a village. The journey was of course performed on foot, and yet they managed to advance about ten or twelve miles per day. When they arrived at a village, they were immediately surrounded by multitudes of natives, men, women and children, who showed no sort of timidity at the presence of Europeans, but came boldly up to the travelers, and examined their persons and dress with much eagerness, asking importunately for tobacco. The Battaks wear no clothing, except a strip of cloth around the loins for the men, and a piece somewhat broader for the women.

“Si Jan says, that he did not see any of the natives tattooed. They live in houses a little raised from the ground, made of brushwood and bamboo, and covered with leaves. Their houses are generally in a row with a small verandah in front, also raised from the ground, in which the gentlemen generally slept. Their villages were surrounded with strong palisades, sometimes in two or three rows. In their houses, arms were found, and the natives never appear out without them. Their large knives or cleavers they carry without a scabbard, resting on their shoulders, with a spear in the other hand. They generally plant rice in the vicinity of their villages, not in irrigated fields, as is customary with the Malays, but in scattered patches of dry land; holes are made at little intervals with a stick, and the seed cast in, and covered over, which in process of time springs up and yields a small increase, but nothing compared with the produce of irrigated rice fields. They have also Indian corn; some yams were seen, and now and then the egg plant; but Si Jan said, no fruit, not even plantains or cocoa nuts.

“Salt is brought to them by traders from the interior, but it is very black and disagreeable. They have nothing to exchange for this and such other articles as they may need, but gum benjamin.

“On the second night after their departure, they fell in with rajah Swasa, who told them that it would be better not to attempt to enter the Battak country at first, but stay at Panchan, until he should have time to go into the interior and make inquiry, when he would send them a letter from Tobah, to inform them whether or not they would be well received. They replied, that they came with peaceable intentions, and that there was no necessity for such a measure. On being questioned, whether he had joined in persuading the gentlemen not to proceed, Si Jan replied, that he had not; but while staying at Panchan, and hearing such fearful accounts from the Malays residing there, of the murderous practices and cannibal habits of the Battaks,

he had requested Mr. Lyman to be allowed to remain behind with the Chinese teacher; but that Mr. Lyman replied, he must go, for they could not do without him. He therefore accordingly went. The villages which they afterwards came to, with the names of their rajahs, Si Jan does not recollect; he only remembers crossing a very rapid river, which they effected by swinging across on rattans tied from one side to the other. The day on which they fell, he thinks must be Saturday, because he heard Mr. Lyman propose stopping a day at the next stage for the Sabbath. He has no recollection of the five Battaks met on the day of their murder who cautioned the gentlemen to return, nor of any other warnings but that given by rajah Swasa.

“The last onset, Si Jan describes as follows: About four o'clock in the afternoon of that day, they came suddenly upon a log fort, which was occupied by a number of armed men with muskets, spears, &c.; and they approached within a hundred yards, without being aware of it. On spying the fort and the men, the interpreter was told to go first, and parley with them; after him followed the coolies with the baggage, the gentlemen and their two servants, and the police runner behind. When the interpreter arrived at the fort, Si Jan heard a disturbance, and on looking round, saw a band of about 200 armed men close upon them from the rear. The coolies, upon seeing the troop, and hearing the noise, threw down their burdens and fled; the interpreter also became invisible. Immediately the crowd of Battaks came on them, hallooing and brandishing their weapons, and threatening to dispatch the travelers at once. They came so near with their pointed spears and muskets, that Mr. Lyman was enabled to push by their weapons with his hands, intreating them to wait a little and come to an explanation; at the same time both of them took off their hats which they threw to the Battaks, and also some tobacco in their possession.

“This not pacifying the rabble, Mr. L. delivered up his pistols, as did also Mr. Munson; these were received, and handed to the others, but the disturbance continued. Mr. Lyman then asked Si Jan for the musket which he carried, but he refused to deliver it up saying, he then should be left defenceless. Si Jan offered to fire, but Mr. Lyman withheld him, and asked for the musket for his own use. Si Jan gave it him accordingly, and Mr. L. immediately handed it over to the Battaks. Mr. L. then said, call the interpreter. Si Jan ran a little way to call him, but not perceiving him, turned round to go to Mr. Lyman, when he heard the report of a musket, and saw Mr. Lyman fall, calling out Jan! Jan! A shout then arose from the Battaks, which was answered by those in the fort. A rush was then made on Mr. Munson, who was run through the body and fell. Another shout then followed. The cook who had on a jacket given him by Mr. Munson was the next victim. On seeing the gentlemen fall, he attempted to escape, but was pursued, and by one blow of their cleavers had his arm cut off, while the weapon went through the arm into his side.

“Si Jan and the police runner now fled for their lives, and got into

a thicket at a short distance :—here they concealed themselves under the bushes, and remained all night, (the evening having already set in,) until five o'clock the next morning. While Si Jan was in the thicket he heard much shouting and rejoicing, and about 7 o'clock in the evening, the Battaks fired off their muskets, and then all remained quiet.

“ At first, while on board ship, Si Jan gave out that he saw the gentlemen cut up by piecemeal and carried away, and afterwards to the Malay teacher, in the presence of Mrs. Munson, he asserted the same; but thinking it might wound their feelings, and having perhaps been cautioned by some friends not to touch upon this painful subject, he altered his story, and said that he saw nothing after he retreated to the thicket. About five the next morning, Si Jan and the police runner set off to return, not by the usual route, but right through the woods, traveling by the sun, and in two or three days arrived at Si Boga in the bay of Tappanooly, where they procured a boat and got to Panchan. In his flight, Si Jan received a wound in his foot from one of the caltrops or sharp pointed bamboos which the natives threw about in order to catch the feet of the fugitives, which gave him great pain in his march, and still continues to lay him up.”

Before we venture to make any remarks concerning the foregoing narrative, or to express an opinion on the conduct of the lamented men who have been so early and unexpectedly cut off, we will pause, and take a survey of Sumatra and its inhabitants. It is truly matter of surprise and regret that so little is known by Europeans of one of the fairest and most fertile islands in the world. Extending more than a thousand miles in length, and, on an average, about one hundred and fifty in breadth, diversified by ridges of mountains and numerous rivers, with a deep, rich soil, yielding a great variety of productions, Sumatra remains to this day the abode of half-civilized men. At a very early period the island was visited by merchants of the west. Yet even now the full extent and value of its resources are unknown; and, except a few stations on the coast, it affords no secure and hospitable retreat for strangers.—Marsden's *History of Sumatra*, Anderson's *Mission*, and the papers of Raffles, Crawford, and a few others, all confessedly very defective, are almost the only works on the subject worthy of notice.

The kingdoms and states of Sumatra are so numerous, and yet so unknown, as to make it quite impossible for us to define their boundaries, or even to give a full list of their names :—Acheen, Meuangkabu, Siak, Jambi, Palembang, and Lampong, are the principal divisions. What Mr. Anderson has remarked concerning Pulo Percha, an extensive territory situated on the east coast between Diamond Point in  $5^{\circ} 16' 32''$  north latitude, is to a considerable extent applicable to the whole island. He says: “There is not a more marked variety and dissimilarity in the products of the several states in this extensive tract, than there is in the physical and moral condition, habits and customs of the numerous tribes which inhabit it. Many

of the states have been settled for centuries, and have risen to power and an advanced state of civilization; others, which had obtained the summit of prosperity, and were enjoying the benefits of a most extensive commerce, have, in the lapse of ages, and under changes of systems and governments, been gradually retrograding, and their power and authority is much circumscribed. There are others again of a recent formation, and where government and character have not arrived at that stability, consistency, and uniformity, which we find in the more anciently established kingdoms. Some of the states were founded by emigrants from the powerful empire of Menangkabou; others by shipwrecked mariners from the coasts of Malabar and Coromandel; and by settlers from Acheen, Java, Borneo, Celebes, and the Malayan peninsula; many of whom have perhaps been associated together as piratical adventurers, and have derived from the product of their former barbarous avocations, the means of founding a flourishing kingdom. Great distinctions of manners, habits, &c., must be the consequence of such a motley assemblage of different tribes."

Acheen once figured in history; but its ancient power is broken; and the accounts of what it was centuries ago, will afford us but a poor idea of what it now is. Sir T. S. Raffles, while in Sumatra, remarked concerning the country: "The power of the king is daily becoming more precarious, and the government is rapidly breaking up. Almost all the powerful chiefs, whether of the coast or interior, have assumed a virtual independence, without formally renouncing the king's authority; while the power of the young king is too much enfeebled to be able either to compel obedience, or to levy the usual taxes and duties for the support of his dignity. One of the principal of these refractory chiefs is the panghulu of Susa, one of the districts formerly most productive in pepper. The young king is by no means deficient in general abilities, but has been designedly deprived of proper education by his mother, whose influence in the country is still superior to his own. This circumstance has thrown the prince, in a great measure, into the hands of about half a dozen of half-caste Portuguese and French."

Again, immediately after having resided three months at Acheen, in 1819, he remarked concerning that place: "The most important discoveries we made, were the existence of extensive teak forests near the northern coasts, and the general prevalence of mutilated Hindoo images in the interior; of the former, I obtained specimen branches of the trees, and undoubted evidence; and of the latter, the accounts given were of a nature which left little doubt in my mind with regard to the fact. I have obtained also several copies of their annals, and much information regarding their constitution and customs: their line of Mohammedan kings appears to have commenced in 601 of the Hegira, and from that period until that reign of Seemder Muda, or Macota Alem as he is more generally called, Acheen is said to have been tributary to Rum; it then obtained exemption from tribute. The crown and regalia, appear to have been brought from Rum,



shortly after the establishment of Islamism ; and I think it probable that Acheen was the first and most important footing obtained by the Mohammedans to the eastward, and whence their religion was subsequently disseminated among the islands."

Menangkabu is a very ancient kingdom, and its jurisdiction once extended over nearly or quite the whole of Sumatra. It has been famed, since the earliest periods of history, for the riches of its gold mines, its iron ores, and other mineral productions. It was from Menangkabu that the gold which traders found at Malacca, in remote periods, was carried. It was to the gold of Menangkabu that Malacca owed its designation of the golden Chersonesus ; and within its dominions, geographers have marked the situation of mount Ophir. Sir Stamford was of opinion that the Menangkabuan of the Malayan peninsula have emigrated from Sumatra ; and was confirmed in this belief, from the fact that the sultan and all the principal officers of Rumbo, a Malay kingdom about sixty miles inland from Malacca, hold their authority immediately from Menangkabu, and have written commissions for their respective offices : this shows the extensive influence of Menangkabu even now, reduced as it is in common with all the Malay states.

The capital of Menangkabu is the celebrated Pageruyong, visited by sir Stamford and lady Raffles in 1818. It is built at the foot and partly on the slope of a steep and rugged hill called Gunung Bongso, remarkable for its appearance with three peaks. Below the city, under a precipice of from fifty to a hundred feet, winds the beautiful stream of Selo, which passes Suruasa, and takes the name of *Soongy Amas* or the golden river. In front of the city rises the mountain Berapi, the summit of which is about twenty miles distant. Pageruyong and Suruasa have been repeatedly ravaged ; all the adjacent country however is described as being exceedingly populous and highly cultivated. On a moderate calculation, the population within a range of fifty miles round Pagernyong cannot be estimated at less than a million. "The whole country," says sir S., "as far as the eye could distinctly trace, was one continued scene of cultivation, interspersed with innumerable towns and villages, shaded by cocoa nut and other fruit trees. I may safely say, that this view equalled anything I ever saw in Java ; the scenery is more majestic and grand, population equally dense, cultivation equally rich. In comparison with the plain of Mataram, the richest part of Java, I think it would rise. Here, then, for the first time, was I able to trace the source of that power—the origin of that nation, so extensively scattered over the eastern archipelago. The estimated height of Pagernyong above the level of the sea is 1800 feet. In Mr. Marsden's map, the city is placed at about eighty-two miles northeast of Padang, and sixty-six from the coast. By our observations we found it to be not more than fifty miles from Padang, and forty-five from the coast, in a straight line ; the latitude being 14' south, and longitude twenty-eight miles east of Padang."

The principal provinces and districts, which constitute the king

dom of Menangkabu, are Agun, Datar, Lebban, Allang Panjang, Peia Kumboo, Kapunahan, Ramba, Tumosei Kanto, Ujong Batu, Batu gajah Dedap, Karikan, Kuban, Leantan, and Tandong. Our authority for these names is Anderson; who says that, according to the fabulous Malayan annals, Sang Sapurba, a descendant of Alexander the Great, was the first king of Menangkabu.

Siak was once an extensive and powerful kingdom. To Mr. Anderson, who visited the country in 1823, the following sketch of its modern history was communicated. In the reign of sultan Abdul Jalil Mohammed Shaw, the seat of government was at Buantan. The king's two sons, Buang and Alum, were of a quarrelsome disposition, and mutual jealousy and dislike was the consequence. After a serious dispute with his younger brother, whose part the king was disposed to espouse, Buang fled from the country and became a daring pirate. Having collected many adherents, he proceeded to Malacca, then in the hands of the Dutch, and in concert with that government projected a scheme for taking Siak. The plan was successful; Alum fled, and, the king being old and infirm, Buang seized the reigns of government; and, in consideration of the assistance rendered to him by the Dutch, he allowed them to establish a factory at Pulo Guntong. About eight years after this he set out on a piratical expedition. A few months afterwards he returned, and anchored his fleet, consisting of twenty-five large vessels, close to the Dutch factory at Guntong. The unsuspecting Dutch received Buang, and four of his chiefs, with the greatest attention. While sitting beside the Dutch resident, the commandant of the garrison, the pirate king, rajah Buang, drew his kris and stabbed him to the heart; a few other officers in the room were murdered with equal dispatch. This was the work of a moment; and the crews of the vessels, at a given signal, rushed sword in hand amongst the people of the garrison, and about 180 Dutchmen perished in the general massacre. This event took place in the year 1150 of the Hegira, which makes it upwards of ninety years since the Dutch occupied the settlement. And to the present time the state of the country continues to be unsettled. Vessels from Java, Borneo, and Celebes used to resort to it in great numbers, and carried on an extensive commerce. The population of the kingdom, though still very large, has greatly decreased; and the trade has been almost annihilated by the *Rinchis*, the chiefs of a religious sect, who a few years ago extended themselves into the interior of Siak from Menangkabu. These chiefs "are most rigorous in preventing the consumption of opium; and punish with death all who are detected in this indulgence. They prohibit colored cloth of any description from being worn, and allow only pure white. Scree, tobacco, and betel, articles in such general use in all the Malay countries, and considered so essential to their comfort, are not permitted. Every man is obliged to shave his head, and to wear a little skull-cap. No man is permitted to converse with another's wife, and the women are obliged to cover their faces with a white cloth, having only two small holes for their eyes."



Jambi was visited in 1820 by lieutenant S. C. Crooke of Penang; from his journal we gather the following particulars:—The country is flat; and towards the sea it is low, swampy, and subject to inundation. The land rising in an inclined plane from the sea towards the great central chain of mountains which divide the island lengthwise, is probably of an alluvial formation. At Jambi (town), its surface is about twenty feet above the level of the river in the dry season. It is composed of a rich vegetable mould, covering a bed of clay, mixed with fine sand; under which, at the depth of eleven or twelve feet, there is a stratum of peat, four feet in thickness, containing trunks of trees of various dimensions, the bark undecayed, and the fibres of the wood retaining much of their natural color, strength, and elasticity. The substratum is a fine light colored clay, slightly mixed with decayed vegetable matter. The banks presents a section of successive layers of sand and clay; neither stone nor gravel were found in the soil, though pebbles of quartz and fragments of ironstone, washed down the river from the interior, have been deposited on the sandy banks. The climate at the town of Jambi is considered healthy and agreeable. During Mr. Crooke's residence there, which was in July, the mean of the thermometer hanging in a close and hot cabin, was at sunrise from 76° to 77°; at the hottest time in the day, generally from two to three o'clock, 86°; and at 8 p. m. 79° of Fahrenheit.

The people have no regular forms of law, police, or government in any of its modifications; but the sultan is nominally supreme, and arbitrary. Ignorant and weak, however, in reality, his authority is slighted or usurped by every ambitious chieftain; and the kingdom is throughout in a state of confusion and misrule. The lower classes of the people are generally below the middle size in stature: they are ignorant, poor, and indolent; but do not appear to possess that character of vindictive treachery so commonly ascribed to the Malays. Their arms are the kris, spear, and more rarely fire arms of a heavy and clumsy make: these are said to be manufactured in Sumatra.

Of Palembang and Lampong we have very little information that can interest our readers. The capture of Palembang in 1812, by colonel Gillespie, was a most gallant achievement. The expedition reached the city on the 25th of April, and took possession of the place while the Malays were exulting in the destruction of the Dutch garrison. When Gillespie gained possession of the fort, the palace, and batteries, the horrors of the scene were dreadful. With only seventeen British grenadiers, and a few officers and seamen, sufficient to man a barge and a gig, the colonel landed at eight o'clock at night; and, undismayed in the face of numerous bodies of armed men, he marched through a multitude of Arabs and treacherous Malays, whose missile weapons, steeped in poison, glimmered by the light of torches. Huge battlements, with immense gates, leading from one area to another, presented the frightful spectacle of human blood still reeking and flowing on the pavement. The massive gates closed upon the rear and the blood stained courtyards through which the party were conducted, appeared as if they were the passage to a

slaughter house. The palace exhibited a melancholy picture of devastation and cruelty. In every direction spectacles of woe caught the sight, and were rendered peculiarly awful by the glare of the surrounding conflagration, accompanied by vivid flashes of lightning and loud peals of thunder.

We intended to add in this place some brief notices of the mountains, lakes, rivers, coasts, and harbors, as well as of the animal, vegetable, and mineral productions of Sumatra; but our limits forbid; and we turn, therefore, to take a view of the inhabitants of the island. Of the Malays, it is not necessary to speak; but the *Orang Puti*, or Padries, must not be passed over without some notice. They are said to resemble the Wahabees of the desert. They are Mohammedans; and have proved themselves most unrelenting and tyrannical. In 1822, sir Stamford described them as rapidly gaining ground throughout the northern parts of Sumatra. "It is the practice of the people," says the writer just named, "when they are attacked, to place the women and children in front; and in the last onset by the Dutch, it is reported that not less than one hundred and twenty women, each with a child in her arms, were sacrificed, the women standing firm."

The Battaks deserve particular attention. Our best authorities on this point are sir Stamford Raffles and Mr. Anderson. In February, 1820, sir Stamford, in a letter to the duchess of Somerset, gave the following account of this singular people: "I have just left Tapanooly, situated in the very heart of the Battak country, abounding in camphor and benjamin, and full of interest for the naturalist and philosopher. If you have looked into Mr. Marsden's history of Sumatra, you will recollect that the Battaks are cannibals. Now do not be surprised at what I shall tell you concerning them, for I tell the truth, and nothing but the truth. To prepare you a little, I must premise that the Battaks are an extensive and populous nation of Sumatra, occupying the whole of that part of the island lying between Acheen and Menangkabu, reaching to both the shores. The coast is but thinly inhabited, but in the interior the people are said to be as thick as the leaves of the forest; perhaps the whole nation may amount to between one and two millions of souls. They have a regular government, deliberative assemblies, and are great orators; nearly the whole of them write, and they possess a language and written character peculiar to themselves. In their language and terms, as well as in some of their laws and usages, the influence of Hindooism may be traced; but they have also a religion peculiar to themselves; they acknowledge the one and only great God, under the title of *Di-bata Assi Assi* (?), and they have a trinity of great gods, supposed to have been created by him. They are warlike, extremely fair and honorable in all their dealings, and most deliberate in all their proceedings. Their country is highly cultivated, and crimes are few.

"The evidence adduced by Mr. Marsden must have removed all doubt from every unprejudiced mind, that, notwithstanding all this in their favor, the Battaks are strictly cannibals; but he has not gone half far enough. He seems to consider that it is only in cases of prison-

ers taken in war, or in extreme cases of adultery, that the practice of man-eating is resorted to, and then that it is only in a fit of revenge. He tells us that, not satisfied with cutting off pieces and eating them raw, instances have been known where some of the people have run up to the victim, and actually torn the flesh from the bones with their teeth. He also tells us that one of our residents found the remains of an English soldier, who had been only half eaten, and afterwards discovered his fingers sticking on a fork, laid by, but first taken warm from the fire: but I had rather refer your grace to the book; and if you have not got it, pray send for it, and read all that is said about the Battaks."

"In a small pamphlet lately addressed to the Court of Directors, respecting the coast, an instance still more horrible than anything related by Mr. Marsden is introduced; and as this pamphlet was written by a high authority, and the fact is not disputed, there can be no question as to its correctness. It is nearly as follows: 'A few years ago, a man had been found guilty of a very common crime, and was sentenced to be eaten according to the law of the land; this took place close to Tappanooly; the resident was invited to attend; he declined, but his assistant and a native officer were present. As soon as they reached the spot, they found a large assemblage of people, and the criminal tied to a tree, with his hands extended. The minister of justice, who was himself a chief of some rank, then came forward with a large knife in his hand, which he brandished as he approached the victim. He was followed by a man carrying a dish, in which was a preparation or condiment, composed of limes, chillies, and salt, called *sambul*. He then called aloud for the injured husband, and demanded what part he chose; he replied, the right ear, which was immediately cut off with one stroke, and delivered to the party, who turning round to the man behind, deliberately dipped it into the *sambul*, and devoured it; the rest of the party then fell upon the body, each taking and eating the part most to his liking. After they had cut off a considerable part of the flesh, one man stabbed him to the heart; but this was rather out of compliment to the foreign visitors, as it is by no means the custom to give the *coupe de grace*.'"

It was with a knowledge of all these facts, that sir S. visited Tappanooly, with the determination to satisfy his mind most fully in everything concerning cannibalism. Accordingly he caused the most intelligent chiefs of that place to be assembled, and in the presence of witnesses, Mr. Prince and Dr. Jack, obtained the following information, of the truth of which neither of the gentlemen had the least doubt. It is the universal and standing law of the Battaks, that death by eating shall be inflicted in the following cases: 1st, for adultery; 2d, for midnight robbery; 3d, in wars of importance, that is to say, in one district against another, the prisoners are sacrificed; 4th, for intermarrying in the same tribe, which is forbidden from the circumstance of their having ancestors in common; and 5th, for a treacherous attack on a house, village, or person.

It is calculated, the same author affirms, that not less than from sixty to one hundred Battaks are annually eaten in times of peace. The palms of the hands and the soles of the feet, are the delicacies of epicures! Formerly it was usual for the people to eat their parents when too old for work; this practice, however, has been abandoned. When the party is a prisoner taken in war, he is eaten immediately and on the spot; and whether dead or alive alters not the case; and it is usual even to drag the bodies from the graves and eat the flesh. It is certain that it is the practice *not* to kill the victims till the whole of the flesh is cut off, should the party live so long. Horrid and diabolical as these practices may appear, it is no less true that they are the result of much deliberation; and seldom, except in cases of prisoners of war, the effect of immediate and private revenge. With regard to the relish with which they devour the flesh, a great many of the people, perhaps a majority, consider it preferable to beef or pork. After all this, sir S. considered that he could say a great deal on the other side of the question, 'for the Battaks have many virtues.' "You know," says he, in concluding his letter to the duchess, "you know that I am far from wishing to paint any of the Malay race in the worst colors, but yet I must tell the truth. Notwithstanding the practices I have related, it is my determination to take lady Raffles into the interior, and to spend a month or two in the midst of the Battaks. Should any accident occur to us, or should we never be heard of more, you may conclude we have been eaten."

The character of the Battaks is portrayed in terms equally distinct by Mr. Anderson. When at Siak, great numbers of these people visited him; one told him that he had partaken of human flesh seven times, and specified the parts of the body which were esteemed the most delicate. Others told him they had repeatedly eaten of human flesh, and expressed an anxiety to enjoy a similar feast upon some of their enemies, then in their neighborhood. Another displayed, with signs of particular pride and satisfaction, a kris, with which he said he had killed the seducer of his wife, and whose head he had severed from his body, holding it by the hair, and drinking the blood as it ran warm from the veins. Mr. Anderson, after relating many instances of cannibalism, gives his opinion on the subject in the following words:—"The existence of this barbarous and savage practice, so revolting to the ideas of civilized man, has long been doubted, and is only partially credited even to this day. Being, I own, rather sceptical on this point, I determined to omit no opportunity of arriving at the truth. I am fully justified then, not only from what I witnessed, but from the concurring testimony of the most respectable and intelligent natives whom I met, in asserting, that cannibalism prevails even to a greater extent on the east side of Sumatra, than according to the accounts received, it does on the west. It is not for the sake of food that the natives devour human flesh, but to gratify their malignant and demon-like feelings of animosity against their enemies. Some few there are, however, of such brutal and depraved habits, as to be unable, from custom, to relish any other food. The rajah of



Jawa, one of the most powerful and independent Battak chiefs, if he does not eat human flesh daily, is afflicted with a pain in the stomach, and will eat nothing else. When no enemies or criminals can be procured for execution, he orders one of his slaves to go out to a distance and kill a man now and then, which serves him for some time, the meat being cut into slices, put into joints of bamboo, and deposited in the earth for several days, which softens it. The parts usually preferred, however, are the feet, hands, navel, ears, lips, eyes, and tongue."

Mr. Anderson published his book in 1826; a review of it appeared in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 67, the same year, and a rejoinder in the *Malacca Observer*, No. 10, for July, 1827. In an explanatory note to the last named paper, the editor says, that "the Battaks are not ashamed to own that they are cannibals. Some years ago a Battak servant of a gentleman in Malacca, on seeing his master's child washed, made the following remark; 'in our country it would be unnecessary to wash the child, he might be roasted at once;' intimating, that as the boy was white and looked clean, he might be eaten without being washed. Another servant of the same gentleman told him, that when her grandfather and grandmother became old and useless, a large fire was kindled at the foot of a tree, from the top of which they were let fall into the fire, where they were roasted alive and afterwards eaten. This she declared to be the customary mode of dispatching old people. She also remarked, that the palm of the hand was the most delicious part of the body."

We have been thus particular, in narrating the facts concerning both the murder of Messrs. Munson and Lyman and the people who committed that inhuman deed, in order to put our readers in possession of the best means possible for forming an opinion on the subject. Perhaps the first impression made on every mind, by reading the account, will be that the men were too precipitate and venturesome. We do not know all the considerations and circumstances which induced them to pursue the course they did; enough, however, is known to prevent us from saying that they did wrong. Their grand object was to benefit their fellow-men. They were anxious to become acquainted with the character and condition of the inhabitants of the archipelago; and they knew they were exposing themselves to danger and putting their lives in jeopardy. Had they resolved to hazard nothing and encounter no difficulties, surely they would not have left their native land, where they enjoyed all the ease and quiet, heart can wish. How many lives are put in jeopardy, and sacrificed too, in the pursuit of wealth and worldly aggrandizement? In such cases men are bold, daring, and enthusiastic, and willing to encounter dangers and difficulties. And their conduct is commended. As an instance in point, we may refer to sir Stamford, whose enterprise is worthy of all commendation. 'On my arrival at Padang,' says he, 'I found, that notwithstanding my previous instructions, no arrangements whatever had been made for facilitating the proposed journey into the interior. Here, as in a former instance at Manna, when I proposed to proceed

to Pasumah, the chief authority had taken on himself to consider such an excursion as altogether impracticable, and to conclude that on my arrival, I should myself be of the same opinion. I had, therefore, to summon the most intelligent European and native inhabitants, and to inform them of my determination. At first, all was difficulty and impossibility. Besides physical obstructions, the whole of the interior was represented to be under the sway of Tuanku Pasaman, a religious reformer, who would undoubtedly cut me off without mercy or consideration: but when they found me positive, these difficulties and impossibilities gradually vanished; distances were estimated, and a route projected; and in three days everything was ready for the journey.' The results of his expedition are well known. But, suppose Messrs. Lyman and Munson had turned back, what then would have been the consequence? They saw no danger; and had they desisted from their course, what report could they have made to their constituents? Have not the natives, and the Dutch residents, always dissuaded persons from entering the interior? We deeply regret the loss of the men, and would warn others to take every proper precaution to avoid a similar end; but never, until more light is thrown on the case, or until we know that their conduct has been disapproved by the great Captain of their salvation, shall we dare to say they did wrong.

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ART. IV. *British authorities in China; their arrival at Canton; letter to the governor; governor's edicts; stoppage of trade; statement of facts made to the Chinese; servants driven from the factories; English marines arrive in Canton; frigates enter the Bogue; memorial to the emperor; battle at the Bogue; military operations; second memorial to the emperor, and his majesty's answer; illness of lord Napier; frigates leave Whampoa, and the commission retires to Macao; third memorial, and a second answer; circumstances connected with lord Napier's death; and imperial order for the appointment of a new chief.*

The first act in the new drama—the English free trade to China,—has closed, and is now a proper subject for review. In order to form correct opinions of the act, its several parts must be considered separately. The appointment of the new authorities; the opinions of Staunton, Majoribanks, Auber, and of writers in the Quarterly and Westminster reviews, with the king's commission to the superintendents, and their arrival in Canton, were noticed in the Repository for last July. (Pages 130, 143.) In the Repositories for the last three months there is a series of official papers, to which, as they are numbered, we shall have frequent occasion to refer. With these brief preliminaries we proceed to review the principal measures of the commission since its arrival in China, on the 15th of July.



In January, 1831, the governor of Canton declared it incumbent on the British government to appoint a chief to *come to Canton*, for the general management of commerce. Accordingly, with 'reverential obedience,' a superintendent was appointed to take up his residence in this port, within the Bogue, and *not elsewhere*. Foreseeing the difficulties that might arise from not being recognized by the local authorities, the chief superintendent, before leaving England, requested that, in case of necessity, he might have authority to treat with the government at Peking: this request being denied, he desired that his appointment to Canton might be announced at the capital: this not being granted, he wished that a communication from the home authorities might be addressed to the governor of Canton: but this was deemed inexpedient; and he was directed to come to Canton, and to report himself by *letter*. To Canton, therefore, he came, and forthwith dispatched a letter, acting in strict accordance with the letter and spirit of his instructions, and with the wishes of the Chinese government, as hitherto expressed. And how was he received? As a king's officer? As a friend? A *barbarian eye* and an *English devil* was the courteous language in which he was reported by the police; and by his excellency, the governor, *his letter* was rejected and himself denounced in the harshest terms. From the fact that the superintendents reached Canton about midnight, the Chinese authorities have averred 'that such coming was manifestly a clandestine stealing into Canton,' hinting at the same time that it was done at the instigation of the hong merchants and linguists: which is false.

The day after the commission reached Canton, the letter was sent to the gates, in the hands of the secretary of H. M. superintendents. The senior hong merchants now came forward to act as mediators between the governor and the bearer of the letter; and, being the well-known advisers of his excellency, used all their influence to have the letter delivered into their own hands. In this, they were foiled; and the governor issued a new edict, one having already been lodged in the hands of the hong merchants. (See Nos. 1, and 2, page 187.) In his second document the governor places foreigners *beyond the bounds of civilization*, and orders the hong merchants, linguists, and compradors to become their instructors in the great principles of dignity and obedience. The barbarians, the governor says, are permitted to reside only at Macao; and only when they have business of buying and selling are allowed to request a permit to come to the provincial city. The fact is, that for many years past, it has been unnecessary to procure permits for European boats; and the superintendents came to the city in the usual and most convenient way, just as scores of visitors arrive here every year; yet in so doing they are charged with 'a great infringement of the established laws.' In tender compassion the governor will not strictly investigate. The barbarian eye must not be allowed to loiter about; and "it must be required, that when the commercial business regarding which he has come to inquire and hold jurisdiction is *finished*, he immediately return to Macao." (No. 2.)

Four edicts (Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4,) from the governor had at length accumulated in the hands of the hong merchants; and on the 15th of

August they addressed a letter to the British merchants, declaring that, in consequence of the disobedience of lord Napier, they "dare not hold commercial intercourse" with them, and must stop the trade. This they did the next day, August 16th.

Two days afterwards, Aug. 18th, the governor issued another edict, (No. 6.) in which he says there are no means of knowing whether lord Napier is an officer or a merchant. But "looking up and embodying the great emperor's most sacred, most divine wish, to nourish and tenderly cherish as one, all that are within and that are without" the limits of the celestial empire, and at the same time "considering that the said nation's king has hitherto been in the highest degree reverentially obedient," he again, in tender commiseration, gives "temporary indulgence." While considering the misery that would overtake the barbarians by stopping their trade, "I feel," said his excellency in a strain of unrivaled bathos, "I feel that I cannot bring my mind to bear it." However, it seems due to the governor to say, that throughout all his measures he manifested an inclination, though feeble and wavering, to accommodate. This disposition seems to have induced him to send the deputation to the factories, on the 23d of August. But, on account of the counsel of the merchants, or for some other reason, he continued to decline all direct communication with the new authorities, or to make any arrangement with them, at the same time allowing the said merchant to stop the trade, and continuing to avow himself ignorant of the real character and object of the chief superintendent.

It was this conduct, it appears, that induced lord Napier to publish in Chinese "a true and official document," in order to exhibit the "present state of the relations between China and Great Britain." (No. 7.) This measure has been considered by many, if not by most foreigners, as premature. Perhaps it was so. Its immediate effects at Canton were certainly bad; but it opened the eyes of the governor and his colleagues; who now sought, though by other means, than the hong merchants, to ascertain the real object of the chief superintendent: its remote effects, therefore, may be most salutary. If we may credit well authenticated reports, the chagrin of the governor at this moment was extreme. By the representations of the merchants he had been deceived, and led on to a point, from which his colleagues would not allow him to retreat. In conjunction with the fooyuen, he now published a new edict; (No. 8,) interdicting all trade with the English, and denouncing as traitors all natives, whether linguists, compradors, or hired servants, that might enter the factories of the said barbarians. From the house of the chief superintendent in Canton, as well as from all the English houses in Macao, the natives fled in a panic; and consternation spread among the Chinese in every direction. At Macao, the Portuguese government kindly interfered in behalf of the deserted families; and a small guard of marines were ordered to come to Canton. On the 7th of September the frigates entered the Bogue. The next day, September 8th, the following document was dispatched to Peking; it reviews the whole controversy down to that date.

(No. 11.)

*Memorial from the Canton government to the emperor, forwarded Sept. 8th, 1834.*

Further, on the subject of the English nation's trade with Kwangtung. The said nation has hitherto had an establishment called Kung pan ya, (office for public management or company, from the Portuguese, *companhia*.) for directing the buying and selling of the whole country, which was also named Kung sze (public managing body). The said company (kung sze) appointed chief, second, third, and fourth supracargoes, to come to Canton, for the general direction of commercial affairs, and for a restraining control over the barbarian merchants. In the 10th year of Taoukwang (1830), the hong merchants reported, that in the 13th year, the period of the said nation's company (kung sze) would be accomplished, and the said nation's barbarians would each trade for himself. Fearing that affairs would be under no general control, the former governor, your majesty's minister Le, commanded the hong merchants to enjoin or derson the taepan, (chief supracarga,) requiring him to send a letter home to his country, (to the effect) that if the company were indeed dissolved, it was directed that a taepan acquainted with affairs should still be appointed to come to Canton, to control and direct the trade.

This year I, your majesty's minister Loo, with the superintendent of customs, Chung, having ascertained that the said nation's company was dissolved, commanded the hong merchants to deliberate well on the subject, as it was imperative that affairs should be made subject to some undivided responsibility in order that they might not be totally without combination, order and arrangement.

In the 6th moon, an English ship of war brought to Canton a barbarian eye, lord Napier, one individual, who said that he came to Canton for the purpose of examining into and directing commercial affairs. He brought with him a family—females and young children—five in all, whom he settled at Macao. The ship of war, which was ascertained to have a crew of 190 persons, anchored in the outer sea; and the said barbarian eye changed his vessel, and came up to reside in the barbarian factories outside of the city. I, your majesty's minister Loo, having received reports hereof from the civil and military district officers, immediately addressed a communication to the naval commander in chief, for him to station cruizers about and keep guard at the Bogue and other places; I gave order also to the men and officers in the forts to keep up a strict and close preventive guard, not to permit the said ship of war to enter the port, or the foreign females to come up to Canton. I also commanded the hong merchant, Woo Tunyen (Howqua) to investigate why the said barbarian eye had come to Canton; that if it were, because it was requisite, the company being dissolved and at an end, to establish fresh regulations of trade, he should immediately inform the said hong merchants, that they might present a report, and so enable me to make a complete memorial, reverently awaiting the receipt of the mandate and pleasure (of your majesty), to which obedience should then be directed.

The said barbarian eye would not receive the hong merchants, but afterwards repaired to the outside of the city to present a letter, to me, your majesty's minister Loo. On the face of the envelope, the forms and style of equality were used, and there were absurdly written the characters, ta Ying kwó, 'great English nation' (for Great Britain). Examining, at that time, it appeared, that in keeping apart the central and the outside (people), what is of the highest importance is a maintenance of dignity and sovereignty. Whether the said barbarian eye has or has not official rank, there are no means of thoroughly ascertaining. But, though he be really an officer of the said nation, he yet cannot write letters on equality with the frontier officers of the celestial empire. As the thing concerned the national dignity, it was inexpedient in the least to allow a tendency to any approach or advance, by which lightness of esteem might be occasioned. Accordingly, orders were given to Han Shaouking, the footseëng in command of the military forces of Kwangchow foo, to tell him authoritatively, that, by the statutes and enactments of the celestial empire, there has never been intercourse by letters with outside barbarians; that respecting commercial matters petitions must be made through the medium of the hong merchants, and that it is not permitted to offer or present letters.

Again, considering that he was stupid and unpolished, having come from without the bounds of civilization, and that, it being his first entrance into the central, flowery land, he was yet unacquainted with the rules and prohibitions, it appeared

undoubtedly right first to explain to him and guide him, to enable him to know what he was to obey and act in compliance with. (I, Loo,) selected and made an arrangement of the rules and orders established by reports at various periods (to the throne), for the regulation of the trade of the barbarians, and commanded the hong merchants to enjoin the same, pointing out, and guiding him in the way, and also to inform him, that the outside barbarians possess an open market at Canton, only because of the good favor of the sacred empire towards the dwellers on the sea-coasts; but that in no way are the mean, paltry, commercial duties regarded as of importance; that the said nation has traded here for beyond a hundred and some tens of years, and for all affairs there are old regulations; and that, since the said barbarian eye has come for commercial purposes, he should at once obey and keep the regulations: but if he do not so, he shall not be permitted to trade at Canton. First and last, on four several occasions, were clear orders given.

Afterwards, the said merchants reported in answer, that the said barbarian eye would not obey the orders enjoined by them, but averred, "that he is an officer and superintendent of the barbarians, and not one with whom taepans can be compared; and that hereafter all affairs ought to be conducted by official communications to and fro with the various public officers, for that orders cannot, as formerly, be enjoined through the medium of the hong merchants, nor can he offer petitions, but can only write official letters, and deliver them to officers to transmit." The said merchants replied, that heretofore there has been no such mode of conducting affairs. But the said barbarian eye, continuing obstinate and perverse, without altering, they requested that an embargo should be put on the said nation's buying and selling. The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, has repeatedly been perverse and stubborn and indeed extremely obstinate, but having considered that the said nation's king has heretofore been always reverently submissive, and that the said nation's several merchants are all still quiet and peaceful; that if, for the error of one man, lord Napier, all the ships' holds should be closed, they cannot but be overwhelmed with grief, I, your majesty's minister Loo, looked upward to embody my august sovereign's liberality, (extensive) as heaven and earth, which beholds with the same benevolence the central and the outside people, and stoops to treat with compassion. I accordingly replied clearly and perspicuously to the said merchants, that the commercial affairs of outside barbarians have hitherto been under the management of hong merchants, and there has never been an officer to direct and control; that England has heretofore had no interchange of official communications with the central, flowery land, and therefore what the said barbarian says, cannot be permitted to be brought into operation. Also, that the ships' holds should properly indeed be closed, but that temporary indulgence and delay are given, from tender compassion towards all the separate merchants. With these particulars they were also commanded to make clearly known (to lord Napier), that if he repented, aroused, and became reverentially obedient, trade should continue as usual, but that if he again offered opposition, and continued perverse, the ships' holds should be immediately closed. It was hoped that, by the truth and sincerity of reason, his brute-like fierceness and overbearing might be reformed; so that, if only the great principles of dignity were not hurt, it would be unnecessary to make any severe requisition. But the said barbarian eye, when the merchants enjoined orders on him, remained as if he heard not; and when the said merchants copied out the words of my official reply, and gave the reply to him, he laid it down and would not peruse it.

Further, the naval tsantseäng, Kaou Eyung reported, that another English ship of war had come and anchored with the ship of war that had come before, in Macao roads. It was ascertained that the number of seamen in her was also 190; and, on being questioned, it was averred, that she would not at all enter the port, but was awaiting a favorable wind to sail out. Again did I address an official communication to the naval commander in chief, and to the officer in command on the Heängshan station, that in every place a preventive guard should be maintained with increased diligence. Directions also were sent to the magistrates of all the seaboard districts, that they should strictly prohibit the trading and fishing boats from approaching the ships of war to engage in barter or afford supplies.

At the same time I again and a third time consulted with your majesty's minister Ke: (and we came to the conclusion) that the common disposition of the English



barbarians is ferocious and what they trust in are the strength of their ships and the effectiveness of their guns: but that the inner seas having but shallow water, with very many sands and rocks, the said barbarian ships, though they should discharge their guns cannot do it with full effect; also, that the barbarian eye having placed his person in the central, flowery land, distant from his own country several myriads of miles, we are in the state relatively of host and guest; if he should madly think to leap the bounds, our troops may composedly wait to work with him, for, that he will be powerless is manifest and easy to be seen. But the matter concerns those out of the bounds of civilization, and it is necessary that investigation should be made and care taken, beyond what is ordinary, in order to break the mind down to submission.

What the merchants had reported being but the assertions of one party, it was not right to give hasty credence to them. We accordingly commanded the assistant foo magistrate, Pwan Shangyeih, to proceed, accompanied by the Kwang-chow lieü, to the barbarian factories, personally to investigate, and at the same time to command that the ships of war should immediately get under weigh and return to their country. The said barbarian eye still did not tell clearly the particulars of what he had come to Canton to do, nor did he plainly and definitely answer for what the ships of war had come, and when they would return. Because the said barbarian eye directed a barbarian acquainted with the Chinese language to interpret, we apprehended that, in transmitting information, there might have been a want of truth; and therefore commanded them to take linguists with them. The said barbarian eye would not receive the linguists to interpret, so that the officers deputed had no means of giving clear orders. And, after having repeatedly commanded the hong merchants to inquire and investigate, the origin and occasion of his mission still could not be at all ascertained.

On humble examination, (it appears) that the commerce of the English barbarians has hitherto been managed by the hong merchants and taepans; there has never been a barbarian eye, to form a precedent. Now, it is suddenly desired to appoint an officer, a superintendent, which is not in accordance with old regulations. Besides, if the said nation has formed this decision, it still should have stated in a petition, the affairs which, and the way how, such superintendent is to manage, so that a memorial might be presented, requesting your majesty's inaudate and pleasure, as to what should be refused, in order that obedience might be paid to it, and the same be acted on accordingly. But the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, without having made any plain report, suddenly came to the barbarian factories outside the city to reside, and presumed to desire intercourse to and fro, by official documents and letters, with the officers of the central flowery land; this was indeed far out of the bounds of reason. Repeatedly have the hong merchants enjoined orders, and the deputed officers inquired and interrogated; there has been no want of bending and stooping to investigate clearly, nor has he been forcibly troubled with any difficulty. Yet the said barbarian eye has not at all told plainly what are the matters he has come to attend to, and what the occasion of his mission; but has imperatively desired to have intercourse by official communications and letters with the officers of the inner land. And he has presumed to publish a notice, telling all the separate merchants not to regard the entire cutting off of trade as a matter for concern; thus showing that he has a disposition to excite agitation and disobedience of the laws and statutes. If not amply punished and repressed, how can the national dignity be rendered imposing, and the barbarians be intimidated?

Hitherto, it has been the rule, that when the barbarians are lawless, their ships' holds should be closed. We, your majesty's ministers, have, in conjunction with the superintendent of customs of Canton, your majesty's minister Chuug, deliberated, and have also maturely consulted with the general commandant, the lieutenant-generals, and the Sze and Taou officers, (heads of the territorial and financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments) in the city, (and have agreed,) that it only remains to close the ships' holds according to law, and temporarily put a stop to the English nation's buying and selling. Should the said barbarian eye, with awe and fear, pay reverential submission, and obey and act according to the enactments and statutes of the celestial empire, we will then again report, requesting your majesty graciously to permit the opening of the ships' holds for traffic; thus may a warning punishment be clearly manifested.

Commerce is originally the business of the separate merchants; but since the said

nation has not yet appointed another taepan, and the said barbarian eye, after having first said he was to examine and direct, has, on a second occasion, styled himself a superintendent, so that we cannot find on inquiry what things he is to attend to; and since, besides such obstinate adherence to error, and refusal of restraint and control, he leaves affairs without any responsibility, it is difficult even to hope for the trade of the separate merchants being properly and securely conducted.

Of late the commercial barbarians have gradually assumed a great degree of daring; at this time of commencing a new order of things, it is requisite that they should, with severity, be brought to order and directed. At present, we have issued a proclamation and plain order, regarding lord Napier's repeated opposition and perverseness, wherein we close the ships' holds according to law; at the same time explaining that this has no relation to the several separate merchants, and that all nations besides may buy and sell as usual. As to whether this be right or not, we, looking upwards, pray for (your majesty's) sacred and luminous instructions, that the same may be obeyed and acted on.

Further; of late years, the hoppo's receipts of commercial duties from barbarian ships from England have been about 5 or 600,000 taels. In itself this affects not the treasures of the revenue to the value of a hair or a feather's down. Yet the national resources being of importance, we dare not neglect to calculate thoroughly in devising a course of action. But the barbarians are, by nature, insatiably avaricious; and the more forbearance and indulgence are shown to them, the more do they become proud and overbearing. At present, the barbarian ships which clandestinely sell opium in the outer seas are daily increasing. Just when the laws were being established to bring them to order, there came this mad, mistaken, barbarian eye. If at this time, indulgence be at once shown to them, they will then advance step by step, begetting other foolish expectations. It is unavoidable but that a slight display should be made of reducing and repressing them.

The said country exists by commerce, and all its merchants, coming in crowds with their goods, are in haste to dispose of them, and to take advantage of the northerly winds of the autumn and winter, for returning with goods to their country. They assuredly will not lightly cast away their goods and capital, waiting till a wrong season. The several separate merchants, seeing that lord Napier has repeatedly resisted and caused agitation, have all in their hearts become in a great degree submissive; and it is now authenticated that they have presented a petition at the hoppo's office, requesting that the ships' holds might be opened; to which it has been replied by proclamation, that if lord Napier change and repent, and obediently keep the old regulations, they may then be permitted to report and request that the ships' holds be opened. The said merchants certainly will not bear to have their livelihood injured by much obstinacy.

Besides, the rhubarb, tea, China ware, and raw silk of the inner land, are things absolutely necessary to the said country. On investigation, it appears, that in the 13th year of Keaking (1808), and in the 9th year of Taoukwang (1829), the ships' holds were closed in consequence of the said barbarians creating disturbance; and afterwards they humbly supplicated and requested their reopening. This is clear proof that the said nation cannot be without a traffic with the central flowery land.

The said barbarians, except in guns and fire-arms, have not one single peculiar talent. We have now, on consultation with general Hn and others, posted military within and without the city, at the various guard stations, directing them to patrol about with increased vigilance. At Macao and all about, officers have also been secretly appointed, to spread themselves about at various posts, on land and water, to maintain quietness and keep a preventive guard, in order that no evils of remissness may arise. There decidedly must not be the least tendency towards what will occasion the commencement of a bloody quarrel and disturbance. In addition, orders are given to the foo and heen magistrates, to search after Chinese traitors, and with severity to bring them to trial and punishment.

As to the commerce of the outside barbarians, the undivided responsibility rests on the hong merchants. Now, since, on the barbarian eye, lord Napier's coming to Canton, they neither at first reported it beforehand, nor, when repeatedly commanded to enjoin orders, were they able to do a single thing, showing a great degree of contemptuous negligence, orders have also been given to inquire if they have or have not been in fault, that they may be proceeded against with severity.



Of the particulars of all that is done, we, your majesty's ministers (Loo and Ke), in conjunction with the superintendent of the customs at Canton your majesty's minister Chung; the general, your majesty's minister Ha; the general of the left, your majesty's minister Lun, of the imperial kindred; and the general of the right, your majesty's minister 'Tso:—respectfully prepare this memorial, secretly reporting, and prostrate imploring a sacred glance thereon. Respectfully reported.

The foregoing memorial reached Peking on the 20th of September, having gone thither in thirteen days, which is only about one half of the time allowed to ordinary dispatches. It was, as intimated in its last paragraph, a *secret* memorial, and was forwarded as a supplement to a public document. Important papers are often forwarded to Peking as secret or supplementary memorials, it being the policy of the government to keep such from the eyes of the people. These 'secret' memorials, written without any suspicion of their ever being liable to fall into the hands of barbarians, are particularly valuable to those who wish to know the true character and condition of the Chinese; and it is not strange that such papers should be read with avidity, whenever they happen to fall into the hands of the people. In the memorial given above, there are several things deserving particular remark, a few of which we will here notice.

It is stated that the barbarian eye, having anchored the ship of war in the outer sea, "*changed his vessel*" and came to the provincial city. If leaving the frigate and entering the cutter, (a boat of about eighty tons, which was formerly the property of the honorable company and for many years employed in running between Canton and Macao,) is 'changing his vessel,' then the memorial is correct; and if the governor was compelled to state the simple truth of the case he would probably affirm that such was his meaning. But that he did not intend to be so understood is made evident beyond all question, by the statement of the well-known fact that one of the hong merchants, *Sunshing*, has been imprisoned on the charge of having allowed the barbarian eye to come to Canton in one of the regular ships, for which he became the security merchant. It is almost incredible that even a Chinese should have the hardihood, against all evidence, and without any shadow of proof, to prefer such a charge. But so it has been: and, until the frigates entered the Bogue, the governor endeavored to hold the hoppo responsible for Lord Napier's coming to Canton,—repeating the affirmation that his lordship came in a merchant ship and not in a man-of-war. And it is equally surprising that, after the chief superintendent left Canton, and the frigates the river and the coast, the government should still keep the said hong merchant in confinement. It is rumored, and generally believed, and not without reason, that money is now the object: if it be so, and the man is entirely innocent—and no one doubts his innocence—it presents us a striking illustration of "the justice and reason" that are current in the "sacred empire."

There is another notable point: the foo and heen magistrates were ordered to search after Chinese *traitors*, and to seize and bring them to severe punishment. But where was there any evidence that

natives had acted the part of traitors? And where and how was there any occasion for any traitorous conduct? If visits to the foreign factories by individuals, who were not hong merchants, was traitorous conduct, then there were hundreds who were worthy of being denounced and treated as traitors; and even his excellency's own household would not be innocent: but no suspicion lighted on such visitors. If being employed by foreigners as teachers of the Chinese language, could expose natives to the charge of being traitors, then individuals were guilty; for such have been constantly employed by the English company or by private individuals during the last twenty years; this has not been done without the knowledge of the government; and during the late dispute, the names of some of those men were in its possession. The laws, so far as there are any that bear on this point, have been allowed to lie inactive. But why were these men, in the present instance, suspected of traitorous conduct and obliged to escape for their lives? Because a document in pure and elegant Chinese had been translated and printed, his excellency was of opinion that barbarians could not thus write and publish in the language of the flowery nation, without the aid of "traitorous natives." But the document was translated without the aid of the celestial *dominies*, and was printed by lithography — to the vexation and astonishment of the Chinese. Of both these facts, the principal local authorities are now, we believe, thoroughly convinced: but this was not done until their underlings had seized, bamboosed, and imprisoned several natives who were perfectly innocent and wholly unacquainted with the matter.

Because the said barbarian eye employed a barbarian acquainted with the Chinese language to interpret, their excellencies, Loo and Ke, apprehended that, in the interview with the deputation on the 23d of August, there might be a want of truth; they therefore ordered the linguists to go and be in attendance; and because the linguists were rejected, the governor and fooyuen affirm that the deputed officers had no means of giving clear orders. This reasoning looks well enough in the memorial; but there is no foundation for it in fact. The linguists, so called, do not pretend to read, write, or even speak the English language, except in the very limited and almost unintelligible jargon of Canton; and in any matters of importance, are utterly incompetent to act as interpreters.

Following events in the order of time, we have now to notice the progress of the frigates to Whampoa, and the military operations that resulted from that measure. The circumstances which led to this, are briefly stated in a letter of the chief superintendent to the secretary of the British merchants, dated September 5th: "Referring back to the 16th of August," says his lordship, "it appears that an order was issued by the hong merchants, to suspend the trade. On the 18th, an edict from the governor appeared, 'threatening to cut off the trade forever, but out of commiseration granting indulgence and delay.' In spite of this indulgence, no chops for embarking or landing cargoes were issued, and consequently there has been a com-

plete stop to foreign trade since the 16th ultimo. In the meantime, however, in full reliance on the edict of his excellency of the 18th, a great deal of business has been done in the way of buying and selling between the British and Chinese merchants; which obligations do not appear to be acknowledged by the edict of the 2d instant. (No. 6, p. 238.) This forms the ground of grave complaint and remonstrance to the governor on the part of the British. The permission to embark goods, paid for up to the 16th, is vitiated in a great measure by the prohibition to land cargoes, from those ships which are daily expected, for the very purpose of embarking the cargoes so contracted for. This anomaly presents a second ground of remonstrance. These two points shall be made subjects of discussion with the authorities. The edict goes on further to state, that all workmen, boatmen or others, are no longer allowed to receive hire; and, consequently, all such persons, including servants and watchmen, have deserted the service of the superintendents. To remedy this inconvenience, and to afford a sufficient protection to the treasury of the East India company, it has been requested that a guard of marines may be landed within the premises, and that his majesty's ships *Imogene* and *Andromache* may pass the Bogue, and take up a convenient position at Whampoa, for the more efficient protection of British subjects and their property." The next day, the hong merchants addressed a letter to the British merchants, saying they had "just received an order from the governor, which states that he has ordered all the forts and guardhouses, that English boats and ships are only allowed to go out of the port; they are not allowed to enter." This was immediately laid before lord Napier, and on the same evening, the 6th of September, his lordship addressed a second letter to the secretary of the British merchants, in which he says:—"It appears to me, from the delay and difficulty which will be experienced by vessels arriving from England before they can deliver their cargoes, that it may be absolutely necessary for the same boats or vessels to pass between Lintin and Canton *several* times before the trade even up to the 16th can be embarked. Under these circumstances, I am desirous of letting the governor know, as soon as possible, that any such insult as firing on the British flag, before the trade is all embarked, will be duly resented. If any one of the merchants have any remarks to offer, either on this head or those mentioned to you in my letter of yesterday, I shall be obliged by their doing so as soon as possible." Two days after this, September 8th, a communication (No. 9.) was addressed to the secretary of the British merchants, who placed a translation of it in the hands of the hong merchants, by whom it was transmitted to the governor. Such was the state of affairs at Canton, when the ships passed the Bogue;—the particulars of which we now proceed to detail.

Friday, Sept. 5th, at 6 o'clock p. m., H. M. ships *Imogene* and *Andromache*, under the command of captains Blackwood and Chads, cleared for action. At 9, p. m. sir George Robinson arrived from Macao, bringing with him Mr. W. to pilot the ships to Whampoa.

Saturday, 6th. At 11 p. m., the cutter arrived from Macao, bringing Mr. Davis and captain Elliot.

Sunday, 7th. The sea breeze did not spring up until 11 a. m.; and then it was light and from the westward. At 12 o'clock and 20 minutes, the ships weighed anchor; at 12:25, the junks and forts in Anson's bay commenced firing blank; at 12:47, tacked; at 12:56, the forts at Taikawktow fired a shot, and at the same time two were fired from the fort in Anson's bay; at 1:16, the fort on Wangtong island fired three shot, which were returned with the guns of the Imogene standing towards the fort on one tack, and the *Andromache* towards Anunghoy on the other. At 1:25, a shot from the Wangtong; and at 1:27, another, both of which were returned with two maindeck guns of the Imogene; and at the same time the *Andromache* commenced firing, returning the shot from the old fort on Anunghoy. At 1:35, the firing commenced from both ships, on the new fort of Anunghoy and on the Wangtong fort. At 2:5, shots were fired from the fort on Tiger island; the Imogene now ceased firing, the guns not being able to bear; the *Andromache* at the same time engaging the forts on Wangtong and Anunghoy. At 2:15, ships anchored; wind being very light. On board the Imogene, no one was killed, and only one slightly wounded by a splinter; she received two shots in the larboard bends, one of which passed quite through, the other remained in; one of the larboard main chain plates was shot through; one shot went through the larboard second deck hammock netting, and grazed the mainmast; one main shroud and half a dozen ropes of minor importance, were shot away. The *Andromache* received still less damage than the Imogene.

Monday, 8th. During the whole day, calms or baffling airs prevented their moving from their anchorage, just below Tiger island.

Tuesday, 9th. At 2:11 p. m. they weighed with a light breeze from the south; at 2:12, a gun was fired from the Wangtong, and one from the new fort of Anunghoy; and at 2:20, shots came from the Tiger island fort, with which the general action commenced, distant about 200 yards; at 2:30, a shot went through the Imogene's fore-castle hammock netting, and killed one man, and slightly wounded two others. The *Andromache* likewise had one man killed, and three slightly wounded. The forts stopped firing at 2:45; the frigates at 2:55; and at 4 p. m. they anchored below Second Bar creek, neither having sustained any damage to speak of either in hull or rigging.

Wednesday, 10th, they moved about five miles up the river, and anchored. The next day, at 7:15 p. m. they anchored at Whampoa. In coming up, the Imogene grounded near the second bar, and again on the Brunswick shoal; but was soon off in both cases: the *Andromache* touched also at the second bar.

While the British fire lasted on the first day, it silenced the forts; but as it soon appeared that any pause on the part of the ships, caused a renewal of the fire from the batteries, it became necessary to keep up the fire until they were beyond the reach of the forts.



The action was the most brisk, while the ships were in the middle of the channel; "but the Chinese fired like men in a panic, aiming very wild, or rather letting fly as the ships arrived at the line of fire for each gun as it was laid. There could not have been much reloading or training of the guns, after the first discharge. The only tolerable firing on the part of the Chinese was from the fort on Wangtong island. The little damage experienced from the enemy, during the whole of the slow working passage and the frequent tacks, so often exposing the ships to be raked by the batteries, sufficiently demonstrates their want of steadiness and skill. They ought to have sunk both ships. The round stern armaments proved extremely useful." While at anchor on the 8th, the Chinese were observed to be busy in adding to their means of annoyance; a number of boats brought additional supplies of men and arms; and a parade of some hundred soldiers with matchlocks took place on the rampart. On the 9th, the battery reserved its fire longer, and after commencing, maintained it better than was expected; but the damage was probably much greater than that sustained by the forts on the 7th. Many thirty-two pound shot entered the embrasures, or shattered the stone parapet; a small temple within the fort became a heap of ruins; and the loss of the Chinese must have been considerable.

The sensation produced at Canton by the "hammering" at the Bogue was various: the report of the firing on the 7th, reached the ears of the hong merchants and some of the Chinese officers, early the next morning, and in the course of the day, some of the heaviest shot were brought to the city. The ire of the Tartar general was kindled to a high pitch; but the governor, who seemed not to have been prepared for such an emergency, was panic struck, and for several days could scarcely compose himself so as to eat, drink, or sleep. From the 7th, all foreigners, and foreign boats, were prohibited from coming to the city; commercial business was almost entirely suspended; and until Friday, the 12th, every one was hourly expecting the arrival of armed boats from Whampoa. In this attitude of affairs, overtures of accommodation were made by the Chinese; and a messenger forthwith dispatched to Whampoa. The expectation of a speedy and satisfactory arrangement was now very strong. But a few hours only had elapsed when the overtures were withdrawn, and affairs soon wore a more unfavorable aspect than ever before. Soldiers to the amount of eight or ten thousand were immediately called out; some were posted on the hills about Whampoa; others were stationed along the river; and others were sent to guard the factories and the gates and streets of the city.

It was now the duty of the governor to report these extraordinary proceedings to Peking: accordingly, on Monday, the 15th of Sept., he "mitted with Tsang, the commander in chief of the land forces, his excellency Ke, the foyuen, and Chung, the hoppo, in forwarding by post conveyance a duly prepared report of the English ships of war having sailed into, and anchored in, the inner river; of precautionary measures having been taken against them; and of those officers

who, having guarded the port with remissness, had been severally degraded and subjected to inquiry." That memorial, of which we have heard nothing except what is stated in this short extract, reached the capital about the end of September; and early in October, the emperor gave the following reply in 'vermilion,' i. e. in his own handwriting:—

*"It seems that all the forts are erected in vain; they cannot beat back two barbarian ships;—it is ridiculous, detestable. The military preparations being reduced to such a state as this, it is not surprising that the outside barbarians regard them slightingly. My further pleasure shall be given. Respect this."*

This vermilion colored reply, and a supreme mandate, received by the cabinet on the 5th of October, reached Canton by an express from the tribunal of war, on the 19th of the same month; they came addressed to the governor: the following is the supreme mandate.

(No. 12.)

This day, it is authenticated that Loo and his colleagues have sent a report, by post, of the English ships of war having broken into the inner river, and of their having dispatched forces to drive them out.

On this occasion, the English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having come to Canton to trade, did not obey the laws. The said barbarian ships of war, two in number, with 300 and some tens of men, having anchored in the outer seas, the said governor did, during the 6th moon, address a communication to the naval commander in chief Le, for the appointment of a tsantseäng, Kaou Eyung, to proceed to the maritime entrance and maintain a preventive guard, and for directions to be given to the officers of the admiral's own division, to command and maintain a strict lookout in the forts. And, after the said governor and colleagues had, according to law, closed the ships' holds, he again addressed a communication for a preventive guard to be maintained, that the barbarian ships might not be permitted to enter the port. But, after all, they were so remiss in keeping up guard, that the said ships of war, on the 5th day of the 8th moon (September 7th), taking advantage of the flood tide broke in through the maritime entrance: and when the military of the several forts opened a thundering fire on them, the said barbarian ships discharged their guns, attacking them in return, and passed on. On the 9th, they arrived at Whimpoa reach, at a distance of sixty *le* from the city, and there anchored. The said governor and colleagues have now appointed a naval force, with severity to drive them out.

Kaou Eyung, tsantseäng of the admiral of Kwangtung's own division, having been sent, in the 6th moon, to maintain a preventive guard at the maritime entrance, his presuming to suffer the said barbarian force to sail into the inner river, was extremely negligent. As to his further assertion, that the said barbarian ships took advantage of the tide, and sailed in with the wind, so that they could not be hindered, it is difficult to insure that it has not been his purpose to embellish and gloss over the thing. Let Kaou Eyung be first degraded from his rank, and made to bear the cangue before all men, at the maritime entrance. And further, let the said governor ascertain clearly if he be guilty of the offence of having, with contemptuous waywardness glossed the matter over, and if so, let him immediately forward severe accusations against him, awaiting the further expression of my pleasure. Let all the officers who kept the forts with such carelessness and neglect, since there were other men appointed to aid in keeping them, be all in the first instance, subjected to wear the cangue, in all the forts publicly, as a warning. At the same time let inquiry be made respecting the circumstances of their neglect and wayward indulgence, and let accusation be also preferred against them.

With regard to Le, the naval commander in chief, the maritime guard is under his especial care; but the said barbarian ship broke in through the entrance, and all the forts, and the military in charge thereof, could not beat back two barbarian



vessels. It is indeed deserving of most bitter detestation. It seems that all the forts are erected in vain. If preparations are reduced to such a state as this, what is it that the said commander in chief is daily attending to? Le, at present, on account of illness, preferred a request for relaxation. He is certainly unworthy of employment. Let him be in the first instance, degraded from his rank, and after the affair is settled, my further pleasure and decree shall be delivered.

The governor of the two Kwang provinces, Loo, having stated that, in the 6th moon, he addressed communications, and held consultations respecting the adoption of preventive measures, the affair is not to be compared with one unanticipated, to which the hand cannot be at once applied; he ought certainly to have selected and appointed active individuals to make preparations and maintain a strict guard. How comes it that the said barbarian ships were suffered to enter the inner river, and could not be hindered or kept back! It arises from the said governor's want of plans and lack of valor. The blame he cannot cast off. He has injured the majesty of the nation, and greatly failed of the duties of his ministry. Let Loo be deprived of the title, 'guardian of the heir-apparent;' let his two eyed peacock's feather be plucked out; and let him for the first instance be degraded from his official standing, but temporarily retained in the office of governor of the two Kwang provinces, that, bearing his offenses upon him, he may direct the management (of the affair). Should he truly arrange it speedily, and end it with perfect security, he may yet receive some little indulgence, and slight diminution of his sentence. If he continue to involve himself in errors, and cause future misfortunes, he must be dealt with according to martial law, without admission of any indulgence. Tremble with fear hereat. Be attentive hereto. Respect this.

On the same day, October 19th, the governor received from the great ministers of his majesty's council a letter addressed jointly to himself, general Ha, and the fooyuen, containing the following mandate, issued October 5th.

(No. 13.)

Loo and his colleagues have sent a report, by a speedy post conveyance, of the English barbarian ships having broken into the inner river, and of forces having been dispatched to drive them out. My decree and pleasure have already been plainly delivered, directing severally the punishments of the said governor and others.

On this occasion, the English ships of war having anchored in the outer seas, during the 6th moon of the present year, Loo did address communications to the naval commander in chief, Le, calling for a strict and close preventive guard. Had indeed a preventive guard been kept with fidelity and vigor, how could the inner river have been broken into? But on the 5th day of the 8th moon (Sept. 7th), the said barbarian ships of war, taking advantage of the flood tide, broke in through the maritime entrance; and when all the military opened a thundering fire upon them, they had the presumption to discharge their guns, returning resistance. And after the passage of the forts at the Bogue and the Wangtong had been forced, they further, on the 7th, passed straight on by the Tiger island fort, and on the 9th arrived at Whampoa reach, sixty *le* distant from the city, and there anchored. It seems that all the forts have been erected in vain. They cannot beat back two barbarian ships. It is ridiculous, detestable! If the military operations be reduced to such a state as this, it is not surprising that the barbarians regard them with contempt.

Now, the said governor and colleagues report, that they have set apart twelve large vessels, and filling each of them with a thousand peculs of stones, have sunk them crosswise; that in the water they have had large cables stretched across; and that they have further had wooden spars laid on the surface of the water, to stop up the passage by water to the city. Also, that they have appointed two large war vessels of the admiral's division, six large vessels of the main squadron, and twenty-two river cruising vessels from the various stations of the districts Sinhwy and Shuntih, with men and military munitions, to keep up a close and strict cruising guard. They have further appointed 300 troops from the lieutenant-governor's own regiments, 700 from the commander in chief's division, and 300

able men of the district militia, to prepare guns and musketry on either shore, in order to guard the land passage. To the Tahwang haou branch of the river, they have sent the tsuntseäng, Loo Ppöhynen, with above twenty cruising boats, to obstruct the passage there; and wooden spars are also used to stop up the river. Likewise on the river opposite, wooden palisades have been set up, and the tsoosze, Hung Fäko, has been sent, at the head of 500 veteran troops of the governor's own, and with a naval force of one hundred men to move hither portable guns, and also large guns, calculated to rend even the hills, causing alarm far and wide; of these men, one hundred and fifty have been placed in charge of the fort (in the Macao passage), and three hundred and fifty have been encamped without, ready to come up to their aid.

Loo, fearing that the Macao barbarians, the Portuguese, might be enticed over by the English barbarians, dispatched the footseäng, Tsing Yuchang, with a civil officer, to issue plain commands to them, and to spread themselves about; and also to keep watch over all things, that no evils of remissness might arise. The said Portuguese barbarians manifested in a high degree reverential submission, and were roused to express their willingness to keep guard themselves. These arrangements were exceedingly proper.

Further, in a supplementary report, it is stated, that at this time the passage before (the ships of war) has been completely stopped up in two places, and behind them also, at Changehow kang (near second bar), large stones have been quarried and made ready, and three hundred troops of the 'brave and pure' regiment have been sent under the command of the yewkeih, Wanglub, to maintain guard, that as soon as the war vessels from Keesheih and other places have entered the river, the stones may be immediately used to block up the river within. The said barbarian vessels will then have no passage for going out. They have further prepared a hundred and some tens of vessels, large and small, in which have been secretly concealed saltpetre, sulphur, firewood, straw and other combustibles, for the purpose of an attack by fire.

The English barbarians are of a violent and overbearing disposition, and they cherish plans great and deep. This has long been the case. On this occasion the barbarian vessels are only two in number, and the foreign sailors do not exceed three or four hundred men. If indeed, the passages for advancing and retreating be both cut off, 'the beast will then be taken, the fish caught'; what difficulty can there be in making a clean sweep in a moment? The said barbarian eye, lord Napier, having stated that he came to Canton to trade, why, when the ship's holds had been closed, did he craftily think to carry a purpose, and go to the daring extreme of having the inner river broken into, and of having guns fired off, returning resistance? He went indeed far out of the bounds of reason. It is to be apprehended that there are yet other ships, staying at a distance ready to bring in aid to him. It is very requisite to inquire fully, with sincerity and earnestness, taking into view the whole field (of action). When the said governor and his colleagues receive this my pleasure, they are required immediately, and with full purpose of heart, to meet for consultation, and arrange the business, securely and speedily. When once the said barbarian eye is brought under, his schemes exhausted, his strength wasted, so that he bows his head and confesses his fault, a light, trifling indulgence may then be extended to him.

Immediately direct the hong merchants to explain to him the evil consequences (of his conduct),—to reprove his presuming to bring in the ships of war and their presuming to use guns and fire, and also to demand of him the cause of his coming to Canton. If he still continue obstinately blinded, and do not arouse, but remain perverse as before, let the said governor and his colleagues arrange and direct military operations, and set in motion the machinery of expulsion and destruction. It is absolutely requisite to make the said barbarian eye tremble and quake before the celestial majesty, and penitentially arouse to reverential submission. Should the said governor and his colleagues continue their former negligence, and cause great misfortune, I, the emperor, will know only how to maintain the laws. If disturbance be occasioned, there decidedly shall be no chance left of indulgent favor. Tremble hereat. Let this be forwarded by a dispatch traveling 500 *le* (daily), and let all the commands herein contained be made known. Respect this.

Before the two preceding mandates (Nos. 12 and 13.) were received in Canton, the commission had retired to Macao, the frigates had left the river, and ten of the Chinese military and naval officers had been handed over to the criminal judge to be tried by *torture*, in order 'to ascertain if they were guilty of illicit connection with foreigners.' What ground there could have been for suspecting those officers were guilty of *any* intercourse with the 'barbarians,' we cannot even conjecture. And we leave this point in order to notice the situation of the commission.

By referring to a letter of the surgeons of the superintendents, which appeared in our last number, (see page 284,) it will be seen that his lordship's health began to fail about the beginning of September, and that an attack of fever supervened on the 9th. It is probable that a knowledge of this fact was one of the principal considerations which induced a retraction of the overtures by the Chinese on the 12th. Lord Napier's determination to leave Canton was made known to the British residents by a letter, dated the 14th of September, addressed to Mr. Boyd, secretary to the Chamber of Commerce: He says,—"Having read the translation of the special edict of the 11th instant, (No. 10,) forwarded to me yesterday, I find that any further endeavors on my part to reason his excellency into a more becoming line of conduct would be quite superfluous; and whereas it has been stated by the hoppo, in his reply of the 7th of September, 1834, to a petition of Messrs. Whitman and Co. to open the trade, that the same should take place as soon as I had taken my departure for Macao; I have now to request that you will be pleased to move the proper authorities to order up the British cutter, now at Whampoa, that I may take the earliest opportunity to give effect to the same." The next day his lordship addressed the following letter to the British merchants:—"My letter to Mr. Boyd of yesterday would prepare you for the present. I now beg leave to acquaint you that I cannot any longer consider it expedient to persist in a course by which you yourselves are made to suffer. I therefore addressed Mr. Boyd, that the authorities might provide me the means of doing that which all parties must anxiously desire, namely, 'to retire and admit the opening of the trade.' When I consider that the subject in dispute is not of a commercial nature, but altogether personal in reference to myself, I can retire with the satisfaction of knowing that your interests are not compromised thereby, indulging a hope that the day will yet arrive when I shall be placed in my proper position, by an authority which nothing can withstand. I considered it my duty to use every effort to carry his majesty's instructions into execution, and having done so [thus] far without effect, though nearly accomplished on two occasions, I cannot feel myself authorized any longer to call on your forbearance." For particulars of his lordship's departure to Macao, and of the frigates from Whampoa, the reader is referred to our last number, page 283. How the events were reported to the emperor and viewed by him will be seen by the two following documents. The copy of the first, as it

came into the hands of the barbarians, was without date, but was probably forwarded very soon after the events took place.

(No. 14.)

*Memorial to the emperor, respecting the departure from Canton and from Whampoa, of lord Napier and of his majesty's ships Imogene and Andromache.*

A reverent memorial forwarded by post conveyance, wherein your majesty's servants,—Ha, general-commandant of the garrison of Canton city; Loo, governor of the two provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangse; and Ke, lieutenant-governor of Kwangtung, kneel and report: That the English ships of war and the barbarian eye have all been driven out of the port, and that the naval and military forces have been returned to their stations, on which report they, looking upward, entreat that a sacred glance may be cast.

An English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having presumed, without previously obtaining a permit, to enter the river of Canton; having also irregularly presented a letter, and having, in disobedience to repeated orders plainly given, continued obstinate and perverse, I, your majesty's minister Loo, closed, according to law the holds of the said nation's merchant ships. The said barbarian eye having further ordered two ships of war to push in suddenly through the maritime entrance up to Whampoa in the inner river, I, your majesty's minister Loo, stationed guards of civil and military officers and soldiers: and wrote for the appointment of a number of naval vessels, from the Tartar force and from those under the admiral's command, as well as of river cruisers from Sinhwuy and other districts, to spread themselves along the passage before the frigates, even to the Leëtih fort (Howqua's), near the city, and the Tahwang haou reach of the river:—also in narrow and important passages, preventive forces were stationed on either shore, under the direction of the commander in chief of the land forces, your majesty's minister, Tsang Shing. These circumstances and the measures taken have been already reported for your majesty's hearing, in a reverent memorial; wherein, also, the conduct of the naval tsantseäng of the admiral's own division, for his neglect of guarding the passage inward, was severely animadverted on, according to the facts; and on the conduct of myself, Loo, investigation and censure was requested. This is on record.

The commander in chief, your majesty's minister Tsang, marched up his forces, spread them out, and placed them in their stations in perfect secrecy and good order. The people of the said barbarian ships of war saw, in the passage before them, spars ranged out across and all around, with guns and muskets as it were a forest, large and small naval vessels ranged along for several miles, and soldiers stationed and encamped in every place on shore, their force compactly joined, their military array imposing and alarming. The ships of war being anchored at Whampoa, among the merchant vessels, plainly perceived boats full of firewood and straw, and fearing nothing less than an attack by fire, remained subdued among the vessels. They did not dare to advance one step. Nor did one person dare to ascend the shore. Among them also were some persons who came from Macao, wishing to go to Canton to see the barbarian eye, and they too were turned back by our men. The barbarian eye, when he found that the passage by water was intercepted, became timid and fearful, and told the said nation's private merchants to say for him to the hong merchants, Woo Tunyuen and the others, "that the ships of war were to protect the trading barbarian ships;" in order thus to show that he had no other purpose.

When our soldiers accumulated daily, the said barbarian eye, seeing the internal and external communication cut off, and no way open to come in or go out, became still more alarmed and fearful, and again wrote to the private merchants to speak for him to the hong merchants, to beg that a sampan boat might be given him, to leave Canton. We, your majesty's ministers, considered that the said barbarian eye had presumed to come up to Canton without having obtained a permit, and that the ships of war, also had sailed into the inner river; which acts, although in noway heavy offenses against the laws, were yet committed in willful opposition to the prohibitory regulations, showing an extreme degree of daring contempt; and we thought, if he were immediately to leave Canton, thus coming and going at his own convenience, how could it be possible to display a warning example, or to show forth his fear-stricken submission! We therefore again com-



manded the hong merchants to question him with authoritative sternness as to what he wished to do in presumptuously coming to Canton without having obtained a permit, and in suddenly bringing the ships of war into the inner river; and we required that he should make plain and distinct answers, in which case he should be permitted to leave Canton; but if otherwise, (we threatened) that exterminating power should assuredly be brought into operation, and that there decidedly should be no alleviation or indulgence.

Thereafter, on the 16th day of the 8th moon (September 18th), the hong merchants, Woo Tunyuen and the others, reported that the said nation's private merchants, Colledge and others, had stated to them, that lord Napier acknowledged that, because it was his first entrance into the inner land, he was ignorant of the prohibitions, and therefore he had come at once to Canton, without having obtained a permit; that the ships of war were really for the purpose of protecting goods, and had entered the Bocca Tigris by mistake; that now he was himself aware of his error, and begged to be graciously permitted to go down to Macao; and that the ships should immediately go out, and he therefore begged permission for them to leave the port. We, your majesty's ministers, again considered, that, although the said barbarian eye repented of his fault, yet it had been repeatedly inquired on what account he came to Canton, and what was written in the letter originally presented; but from first to last he had not told plainly; that as to the statement, "that the sudden entrance of the ships of war into the port was an offense committed through mistake," that was but a glossing pretense; and that when the soldiers opened from their guns a thundering fire upon them, they had the daring presumption to discharge their guns at them in return, thereby causing rafters and tiles within the forts to be shaken and injured;—how came they to be thus bold and audacious! On these points we further commanded the hong merchants to inquire with stern severity.

This being done, the said barbarian merchant, Colledge, on the 18th day (Sept. 20th), again stated to Woo Tunyuen and the others, that lord Napier had really come to Canton for the purpose of directing commercial affairs, and therefore considering himself an officer, is called superintendent; that what was written in the letter formerly presented was that he, being an officer of the barbarians, was not the same as a taepan (supracargo), and wished therefore to have official correspondence to and fro with the civil and military officers of the celestial empire, which is what courtesy entitles to; nothing else whatever was said in the letter. That, as to the ships of war entering the port, it was really because the merchant ships having their holds closed, apprehensions were entertained, that owing to the long continuance of the goods therein, evils of remissness might arise, and therefore they entered the port for the purpose of protecting. That the soldiers of the maritime pass having opened on them a thundering fire, the barbarian force also fired off its guns in self defense, whereby the forts received injury; and that the error is deeply repented of, and the damage done shall be immediately repaired; but that he, lord Napier, begs to be graciously permitted to have a passport to go down to Macao.

A prepared report, as above, having come before us, we, your majesty's ministers, with the Sze and Taou officers, (the heads of the territorial, financial, judicial, gabel, and commissariat departments,) have maturely consulted together. Lord Napier has repeatedly resisted and adhered to his own opinion, that he being an official eye among the barbarians, there is no distinction of honorable and low rank between him and the officers of the inner land: and he has thought to contend respecting ceremonies. But the dignity of the nation sets up a wide barrier; and we, your majesty's ministers, would not suffer the progress of encroachment. The ships of war, having entered the port nominally, for the purpose of protecting goods, immediately felt themselves to be closely restricted. At this time the naval and land forces were ranged out in order, arrayed as on a chess-board; the fire vessels also were made ready: were advantage taken of this occasion while the ships still found it impossible either to advance or recede, and an attack made on them on all sides, there would be no difficulty in instantly having their lives within our power. But our august sovereign cherishes those from far virtuously, and soothingly treats outside barbarians, exercising to the utmost limit both benevolence and justice. If any be contumacious, they are corrected; if submissive, they are pardoned; but never are extreme measures adopted towards them. Although lord



Napier has entertained absurd visionary fancies, he yet has shown no real disregard of the laws: it would not be well precipitately to visit him with exterminating measures. Besides the private merchants of the said nation, several thousands in number, all consider the barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws to be wrong. There is not one who unites and accords with him. Still more improper, therefore, would it be, to make no distinction between common and precious stones. Now, lord Napier, having acknowledged his error, and solicited favor, and all the separate merchants having repeatedly made humble supplications, there certainly should be some slight indulgence shown; and he should be driven out of the port; to the end that, while the foreign barbarians are made to tremble with terror, they may also be rendered grateful by the favor of the celestial empire shown in its benevolence, kindness, and great indulgence.

We having all consulted together, the views of every one were accordant, whereupon permission was given that he should be let go. And it is authenticated, that the said hong merchants went to the Canton custom-house to request and receive a red passport, while I, your majesty's minister Loo, deputed trusty civil and military officers, who on the 19th (September 21st), took lord Napier, and under their escort (or guard) he was driven out of the port. At the same time orders were given to wait reverently until the imperial mandate has been received, that it may be obeyed and acted on. The two said barbarian ships of war got under weigh, also, on the same day, and dragging over shallows the whole way, were on the 22d, driven out of the Bocca Tigris. All the government forces, naval and military, which had been appointed to guard places, were ordered back again, and returned severally to their regiments, or to their cruising grounds.

With regard to Macao, Lantao, and other places, I, your majesty's minister Loo, ordered the footseäng in command on the Heängshan station, Tsin Yuchang, and the tsantseäng of the Lymoon station, Tan Seungming, severally to cruise about, guarding those places. Afterwards I also appointed, in addition, the toozse commanding at Woochow, Wang Kinscw, to proceed with a body of 300 soldiers to Macao, to join the garrison in guard of the place: and I appointed also a naval force of vessels from Yangkeäng to cruise about, with real activity, in the anchorages near to Macao. The said barbarian ships of war having now gone out of the port, it is still more requisite and necessary to keep up a strict and close preventive guard. While we again inculcate directions to cruise about with fixed purpose of maintaining guard, and also to bring to trial the careless and negligent naval officers, that they may suffer the punishment of their stupidity; we will prepare likewise a distinct memorial respecting the regulations of the forts. Besides which, we now respectfully take the circumstances of having driven out, under guard, the barbarian eye and the ships of war, and in conjunction with the garrison lieutenant-generals, your majesty's minister Lun, of the imperial kindred, and your majesty's minister Tso, as well as with the commander in chief of the land forces, your majesty's minister Tsang, we unite in forming this reverent memorial, to be forwarded by the post conveyance, whereon we, prostrate, beg our august sovereign to cast a sacred glance, and to grant instructions. Respectfully reported.

(No. 15.)

*Imperial edict in reply to the government report of lord Napier's having left Canton; and of the frigates having retired without the Bogue, dated at Peking, October 7th. 1834.*

A report has this day been received, by a speedy post conveyance, from Ha Fungah (the general-commandant of Canton,) and his colleagues, announcing that the English ships of war and the barbarian eye had all been conducted, under guard, out of the port.

On this occasion, the English barbarian eye, lord Napier, having come to Canton for trade, did not pay obedience to the laws and statutes, and the said governor, according to law, closed the ships' holds; after which, the said barbarian eye still did not request a permit, but presumed to order two ships of war to push in through the maritime entrance, and to proceed straight up to Whampoa in the inner river. The said governor appointed civil and military officers with troops, and addressed communications, requesting the appointment of naval vessels from the Tartar force, and from those under the admiral's command, as well as cruising vessels from Sinhwuy and other districts; which he stationed severally along the passage before the ships of war, and at narrow and important places on either shore.

The people of the said barbarian ships of war saw before them wooden spars ranged across and all around on the surface of the river, with guns and muskets (in number) as the trees of a forest, and large and small naval vessels stationed over a space of several miles in length, while on shore military officers and men were encamped, presenting a compact and united force, and a military array imposing and alarming. The said barbarian eye and others remained therefore secluded in their boats, there being no interchange of intelligence between those within and those without, and no way either to advance or to go out. With dread and fear they repented of their offenses, and supplicated earnestly for a permit to go down to Maeao.

The said governor considered, that as the said barbarian eye and others had transgressed the prohibitions with daring contempt, if they were at once permitted to leave Canton, thus coming and going at their own pleasure, there would not be the power sufficient to intimidate and bring under the barbarians' tempers; and therefore he commanded the hong merchants, Wootunuch and others, to question them sternly as to what the said barbarian eye wished to do; why he came to Canton without having obtained a permit, and presumed to bring the ships of war suddenly into the inner river; also why, when the soldiers opened a thundering fire upon them, they presumptuously dared to discharge their guns and return resistance; requiring from them plain and explicit answers, before permitting them to leave Canton.

Afterwards, a merchant of the said barbarians, Colledge, answered, saying, "that lord Napier is indeed a barbarian eye, not the same as a taepan; that he was unacquainted with matters of dignity; that the cause of the cruisers coming into the port was really for the protection of goods, in consequence of the holds of merchant ships having been closed; and that, in consequence of the military of the maritime entrance having opened a thundering fire upon them, the barbarian force also discharged its guns in self-defense; but that they have deeply repented of their fault." Also, the said nation's merchants and seamen, several thousand in number, all considered the said barbarian eye's disobedience of the laws and statutes to be wrong, and there was not a single person who joined in harmony with him.

The said governor considered that, as the said barbarian eye, lord Napier, had confessed his fault and besought favor, and as all the merchants had repeatedly made earnest supplications, it doubtless behoved him to extend a slight trifling indulgence and to drive him out of the port; and he therefore permitted the said hong merchants to proceed to the superintendent of customs, to request and obtain a red permit. The said governor immediately appointed trusty civil and military officers, who, on the 19th day of the 8th moon, took lord Napier under guard, outside of the port. Both the said barbarian ships of war, also started on the same day, and were conducted under guard, outside of the maritime entrance of the Bogue. All the naval and military officers and men who had been stationed at various places were every one recalled, and returned severally to their stations.

At the time when it was equally impossible for the said barbarians to advance or to recede, what difficulty would there have been in immediately exterminating them? But these outside barbarians are in search of gain; to intimidate them on points whereon they are altogether unacquainted with the laws and prohibitions, and to refuse altogether arguing with them, is, what I, the emperor, am extremely unwilling to do. If contumelious, they should then be chastised; if brought under subjection, they should then be tolerated. The said governor and colleagues, in conducting this affair, have yet acted skillfully and correctly. Before, on account of the said governor and colleagues not having been able to take due preventive measures before the business, thereby admitting the said ships of war to push into the river, causing to the military the labor of driving them out, my pleasure was therefore made known, that they should be severally degraded from their rank and openly punished. Now, having driven the said barbarian eye and others out of the port, the said governor and others, although at the beginning they failed in a preventive guard having in the end been able to settle the thing well and securely, without loss of the national dignity, and without incurring any bloody strife, I, the emperor, am exceedingly well pleased.

Let Loo have favor shown him, by restoring to him the title of guardian of the heir apparent; and also let the double eyed peacock's feather be given back to him.

The neglect of guard on the previous occasion rendered it difficult for him to free himself wholly from blame; let him therefore still continue degraded from official rank, though retained in office. With regard to all maritime guard officers, and the naval commander in chief; the special responsibility rested on the late commander in chief, Le, who has been already degraded. Now, as the matter has been brought to an end, let further inquiry be dispensed with, and let him be directed immediately to return to his native place. Let Kaou Eyung, the degraded tsantseäng of the admiral's own squadron, wait till after the mouth of wearing the cangue be accomplished, and then be released. Let all the officers who guarded the fort with so much carelessness be made to wear the cangue, and after the expiration of the time let them be released.

In this, I, the emperor, show favor beyond the measure of the laws. The said governor and others ought but to feel shame, and arouse to diligence, strenuously exerting themselves to stimulate a reform in the affairs of the camp and of the maritime guard, from time to time instructing and admonishing with sincerity. It is peremptory, that they take their former accumulated habits, and with contrition, eradicate them singly, in order to cause the military to be all strong and powerful, so that the martial name and dignity may be strengthened, and the appointed duties may be performed. Respect this.

Our limits do not afford us opportunity to notice here the many distortions, misrepresentations, and concealments, contained in the foregoing documents. The principal circumstances connected with his lordship's death, have been narrated in the papers, relative to that mournful event, published in our last number. We shall resume this subject in our next; but dismiss it for the present with the following supreme mandate:

The English barbarians have an open market in the inner land: but there has hitherto been no interchange of official communications. It is, however, absolutely requisite that there should be a person possessing general control, to have the special direction of affairs. Let the said governor immediately order the hong merchants to command the said separate merchants, that they send a letter back to their country, calling for the appointment of another person as *taepan*, to come for the control and direction of commercial affairs, in accordance with the old regulations. Respect this.

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ART. V. *Journal of occurrences: edicts against the outside merchants; military examinations and reviews; fire at Macao: death of an imperial commissioner; earthquake in the northern provinces.*

In order to make room for more important matter, we again reduce the limits usually allowed to passing occurrences. Among the scores of edicts, published in Canton during the last three months, one of them prohibited all outside merchants from trading with foreigners. Great numbers of the people were affected by this measure, and went to the governor's gate by thousands to obtain a removal of the grievances, which they speedily obtained.—Military reviews took place in the neighborhood of the city on the 17th, which were attended by the governor; his excellency has just left the city, on the same duty, to make a tour in the southwestern departments of the province.—On the 5th inst. a fire broke out in Macao, among the Chinese buildings, and about four hundred houses were destroyed.—The old commissioner, Shing, who recently set off for the capital, enriched with the bribes of the late chief, died before he crossed the Meiling.—Destructive earthquakes occurred in Honan, Shanse, Cheihle, and Shantung, last summer just at the time the late troubles commenced in Canton.



